Section 9 - Jesuitica

WOODSTOCK LETTERS

Vol 76 - 1947

DATE	ISSUED TO

This book may be kept for one month. This is a free service; no fines are imposed.

We do invite the utmost cooperation to keep the books in constant circulation and to preserve their good condition.

Each book has an apostolic mission to spread the truths of God's goodness and the goodness of God's truth. You are its host for a month. You are its responsible custodian.

May You Enjoy This Book

JESUIT HALL
3601 Lindell Boulevard
St. Louis, Mo. 63108

DEMCO

THE WOODSTOCK LETTERS

VOL. LXXVI, No. 2 JUNE, 1947

IN MEMORIAM

MOST REVEREND MICHAEL J. CURLEY

(1879 - 1947)

Archbishop of Baltimore and Washington, 1921-1947

With the death of the Most Reverend Michael J. Curley, Archbishop of Baltimore and Washington, on May 16, 1947, Woodstock lost a great and devoted friend.

In the course of the quarter-century that he ruled the venerable See of Baltimore, Archbishop Curley conferred the sacred office of the Priesthood upon 625 Jesuits, a record second only to that of his predecessor, James Cardinal Gibbons.

The Holy Sacrifice, first offered by so many with the Archbishop, is to-day being renewed on the altars of many Provinces and Missions of the Society, within and beyond the American Assistancy. Yet neither time nor distance can ever efface the recollection of his gracious kindness joined to his calm and assuring manner during the ceremonies of the day which means so much to every Jesuit priest.

Archbishop Curley's associations with the Society began with his student days at Mungret College in Ireland. It was there that he received the apostolic inspiration to devote his life to the service of the Church in the Diocese of St. Augustine. His first Mass was celebrated at the Altar of St. Aloysius in Rome. During his long episcopate, both in Florida and in Maryland, he was ever ready to bestow his blessing

and cooperation upon the labors of the Society in education, in our parishes, and in the retreat movement.

The memory of our great and devoted shepherd will always live among the sons of Woodstock, in blessed and grateful benediction. May God be very good to him.

R. I. P.

JESUITS IN THE BONDS OF DACHAU

PETER VAN GESTEL, S.J.

Making a choice out of the many things that could be told and of the many ways in which they could be said, I intend to tell something of our Fathers in Dachau, in the informal way of a letter rather than of an article, revealing now and then some part of the background, against which the life we led and the mutual bond we formed may be better understood.

It is with a sense of deep gratitude towards the Society, the same that called me to unexpected duties, that I leave these duties aside for a while and recall a period in which some hundred of her sons were cut off from her family-circle and yet got to know her better than ever as an invincible bond of love and mutual support. And without drawing any attention to my own experiences as such, it will certainly interest many of you to know that my stay in England, and especially my hasty return after my last visit, on the last day of August in 1939, had something to do with my first meeting with the Gestapo in July 1940. They then suddenly invaded Manresa Retreat House in Venlo, where I was Superior at the time, searching for indications that I was in secret communication with England. It has always been a consolation to me that my imprisonment in September 1941 was due to my priestly work and to my being a Jesuit ("Jesuitism is a worse crime than Communism"), but one of the secondary accusations was that I had been in touch with the B. B. C. during the war. Still, I must be grateful to the English Province for having sheltered me for

---

EDITOR'S NOTE. This article is appearing simultaneously in the English Province, in *Letters and Notices*, and in our pages, in order to assure the widest possible circulation of an account which will stir every Jesuit with holy pride and with great gratitude to God. Its author is a member of the Netherlands Province and is the present German Assistant. At the time of his arrest and imprisonment at Dachau, in September 1941, Father van Gestel was Rector of the Theologate at Maastricht.

some years. My knowledge of English proved to be providential when the Americans liberated the camp and I could at once act as one of the chief interpreters and be of some assistance to the Commanding Officer, if it were only by correcting the one-sided information which our Communist fellow prisoners were ready to give him. But I think it actually saved my life once. In May 1941 I was lying in the camp-hospital (let us give it that name) with enteritis and dysentery, the most common diseases of exhaustion at the time. Daily people were dying, above me, below me, on my right and left, and I was wondering when my turn would come to be removed with others of these "dirty swine" to a notorious room, where nurses, mostly communistic fellow prisoners who had come to the end of their patience, got rid of them by an injection with benzine. Then, one night, one of the nurses came to me and said: "I am told that you have been in England; would you mind helping me to polish up my English a bit in the evening hours, when your temperature is not too high?" So I did. Nurses always had useful connections and were able to get hold of some extra and better food from the SS kitchen. He paid special attention to me, handed me over to one of the few Catholic nurses, who looked after me as well as he could and this way I got through some very crucial months. I am quite sincere, therefore, in expressing my gratitude to Great Britain and many a time my thoughts have wandered to the soccer field of the good old Seminary, to the beach of Barmouth, and the familiar birds of St. Beuno's.

General Roll

The Society had the honor of holding the record at Dachau amongst the 40 Orders and Congregations that were represented. From 1941, when Dachau became the camp where all priests and religious were transported and herded in specially marked barracks, till the end in April 1945, 96 Jesuits of 13 different Provinces were registered there and 31 died. The list in detail is as follows: of the two Polish Provinces 68

(24 died); of the three German Provinces 10 (3 died); of the Austrian Province 5; of the four French Provinces 5 (1 died); of the Czech Province 3; of the Dutch Province 3 (2 died); of the two Belgian Provinces 2 (1 died). All the bodies but one were cremated. As so much juggling has been done with figures concerning the number of prisoners in Germany, I may add that these figures I give are reliable. This is not an historical record, but of those who "left through death," as the expression ran (Abgang durch Tod), may be mentioned the well-known French Father Dillard; the secretary of Father Muckerman, Father Maring; one of the most prominent Polish Fathers, Fr. Bednarski; and my dearest friend, a friend surely, too, of all who met him in the Tertianship at St. Beuno's or during his visits to London, Fr. Robert Regout, Professor of International Law at the Catholic University of Nymwegen. Only with difficulty can I refrain from telling more about him now. These unspectacular modern martyrs we should invoke rather than pray for. Their bodies were broken and exhausted, but their spirit gained an untarnished and supreme victory. They are alive more than we are and from the heavenly source of all blessings they will work more for the Society for which they gladly offered their lives, than they could have done, had they remained in our ranks.

Sphere and Aim of First Contact

It was in the summer of 1942 that three or four of us discovered each other and laid the foundation of a regular Jesuit Community, or rather formed the nucleus from which it was to develop in the course of two years. For a better understanding of the significance and motives of these meetings I must reveal something of what I should like to call the spiritual climate or background of those days. Severely separated from the rest of the camp was Block 26, with its small chapel, where the German priests were confined, and just as there were strict regulations, forbidding anyone to

have any contact with the three Blocks where all the priests and religious were heaped together, similarly the non-German clergy of the two Blocks 28 and 30, were told again and again—and not only by the commanding SS Officers, but, in more blasphemous terms still, by their Communist fellow prisoners, who were given by the SS authority over them—that the heaviest camp-punishments would be incurred if they were found to have any contact with Block 26, or to have heard any confessions, or to have received Communion, etc. Then there is something else, which can hardly be understood by those who entered the camp in 1943 or later, and which is difficult to grasp for anyone who was not there at all. You have certainly heard some tales of utter misery and of the inhuman conditions of starvation, which reigned in the camps towards the end of the war, of the atrocious brultality and cruelty with which the prisoners were treated. I shall be the last to deny the incredible tales, and I could even add some more, which are only known to a few of us. But the period before 1943, when a new stage of productive labour was initiated and the working-power of the prisoners was fitted into the war-machinery, was worse in many ways. Then the SS and Gestapo held the camp with its life in their firm, proud grip, untempered by any fear of defeat. And with methods worked out to their last refined details, they aimed at suffocating the consciousness of man's own personality, at crushing the deeply-rooted human feelings of self-respect, and skillfully contrived during all the hours of day and night, to bring home to us that we were of less value than the lifeless material objects that we were allowed to touch or use. The great danger was the temptation to stoop to mean conduct, dictated by the instinct of naked, self-preservation, to which only two things counted at all: news and food, food and news!

Some three or four of us slipped away every Sunday morning and met somewhere, in a corner or on the crowded camp street, in order to help each other to

guard a larger mental and spiritual outlook, and to meet each other on the common ground of our religious convictions, trying to look through the external curtain of our daily life and to analyse the spirit by which it was inspired from the other side. And in the principles of our ascetical training we found the only sense in all the nonsense we had to do, the saving power of our 11th rule and of Christ's tactics in this city of Satan and sin, of hell and death. Names do not matter very much, but no one can be offended if I mention two of our small group (we lost Fr. Regout in December 1942) who took a leading part in the further development: Fr. Leo de Coninck, Superior of the Residence in Brussels and Fr. Otto Pies, Master of Novices of the East Province of Germany. We talked about world problems, built up a renewed society, had to break it down again next week and started anew. We tried to concentrate on the fundamental ideals of St. Ignatius and his spirituality, for these ideals brought home to us again and again that we were not living in vain, that, confined though we were within barbed and electrified wire, with machine-guns pointing on us day and night, we were not cut off from the spiritual front of Christ's army. Can you understand what these stolen hours meant to us? It is no rhetorical after-thought to say that we never felt so forcibly and gratefully the grace of our vocation to the Society as when we were detached from her outward frame-work and were thrown back on the internal law, on the foundation in mind and heart, received from our Society, which we never felt so much to be a Mother. A flood of prayers must have streamed into heaven to gain for us the blessings of this mutual spiritual strength.

Plans Crossed

A few days before Christmas 1942 the non-Polish clergy were all moved from their Blocks to Block 26. After that, intercourse between the non-Polish members of the Society was facilitated on Sundays. During

the week it was necessarily limited to the few moments one could steal from the little time that was allotted to prepare for work for hastily taking the scanty meal that was distributed. I leave it to you to reflect a moment on the change of atmosphere that surrounded our daily toil, caused by the fact that we could now attend Mass every day, though it could be but a very short ceremony and had to be celebrated half an hour before the usual time of rising, which was 4 o'clock.

Unless you happened to belong to the same labor group, you very rarely saw the others, except during the early part of 1943, when all work was stopped temporarily and everyone had to stay inside on account of the typhoid that was spreading rapidly in the camp.

Our greatest concern was for the Polish scholastics, about 40 in number. They had been transported into the camp with the first group of Poles as early as 1941 and from the very beginning they had been scattered about in various labor groups, their relations and ways of living being settled before the older Fathers arrived with other groups later on. With these they had little contact during the long, exhausting hours of work. The struggle for life they had to face might prove too much for their untried powers of resistance. Often extra privations and cruel punishments were imposed for no reason on the Polish priests; they were the "black sheep" before the Russians arrived in great numbers. We resolved to seek and exploit every opportunity to get to know our Polish brothers, without however attracting too much attention. That was no easy task in the hurry-scurry, nerve-racking agitation of every-day life and while prohibitions as regards contact with the other Blocks were still in full force. No one succeeded so well as Fr. de Coninck, who was always spying about, and with a restless vitality jumped at every occasion to work alongside our Polish fathers. Only a first beginning had been made, when the terrible typhoid infection seized him too and it was certainly due to his ab-

sence that there was a considerable stagnation for some months. His life was in serious danger, but he did not succumb. There were some people who simply could not die and he was one of them. Yet I think that, for the consolidation of our union, much preparatory work was done during his long and providentially prolonged period of convalescence in the hospital, where he met many of the Polish Fathers and Scholastics. And Fr. de Coninck proved that type of man that does not easily lose sight of something he has hooked. When, after a mutual consultation, Fr. Pies volunteered to enter the hospital as a nurse, after an appeal had been made to the priests by the Communist personnel who saw their own lives endangered, our meetings had to be stopped for some months and we had to abandon all concentrated action. It will be shown further on, how providentially useful was the work that Father Pies undertook in the hospital.

Developed from New Headquarters

Towards the end of 1943 the discipline in the camp began to relax more and more. I cannot enter here into the reasons that caused this change, but will only point to three relevant facts: that the young and fanatical SS guards were replaced by more sedate and older soldiers, that the difficulty of coping with the ever increasing number of prisoners that were brought in proved too great to maintain strict order, and that there was not enough material for the various working groups; it became easier to dodge and shirk all work. We had to keep our eyes open all the time however, for no regulations were ever cancelled officially (and the communists spied about, in order to inform higher SS officials against us; but that would be a chapter apart). As more opportunities arose, closer relations with Blocks 28 and 30 were established. Father de C. came back from the hospital and Father Pies often came to see us and soon joined us again on Block 26, when he with all the other priest-nurses were kicked out of the hospital.

From this time date our meetings on Sunday evenings in the corner of room 4 of Block 26, the memory of which will remain a comfort and consolation for ever to all those who took part in them. They were the hours in which our plans were developed and our spirit strengthened and deepened. There was spiritual food, a joyful laugh, mixed with serious calculation and such a meal as we could prepare. The main point of the program was a talk on some spiritual subject connected with the Society, her history and Constitutions, her missions and ministries, her adaptation to the modern mind, etc. I remember that we devoted one evening to the memory of A.R.P. Ledóchowski. In carefully hidden terms the news of his death had been communicated from Poland. One of us spoke of the merits of Fr. Ledóchowski for the spiritual life of the Society, another of his efforts to extend our Missions and a third about his reforms of the higher studies. There were always two or three non-Jesuits present, intimate friends of the Society. Among them was George Shelling, the Dean of Block 26, first appointed by the SS, but (as their authority could be questioned) later, in 1944, officially nominated by Cardinal Faulhaber to be Dean of the Priests in Dachau, with more than ordinary powers. Some of our fellow priests had serious suspicions that we tried to influence the line of action and policy to be taken by the Dean and I cannot deny that they may have been right in some respects. Our Polish brothers could, of course, not participate. We can never forget the staunch friendship of our room-senior, Gerhardt Maushaenzer, a German secular priest, who put his secluded corner and his generous heart at our disposal and showed unmistakable cooking talents by composing the most marvelous concoctions and mixtures with the ingredients that were "organized" and put aside from the parcels we received from home at that time. Personally I am very much indebted to him for the loving way he cared for me more than once when I was ill.

On Christmas day 1943 we were all invited by our

Polish Fathers to Block 28 and enjoyed a regular English tea by which the bond of mutual union was heartly strengthened.

A "Placuit"

Only among the very few that were left from the close companionship of 1942, the bold idea was discussed of forming a regular, officially constituted Jesuit Community in Dachau. That, we felt, should be a tremendous help to us all and more especially to our Junior members. There had always been some secret channels to the world outside and the Jesuits at Dachau would not have lived up to their reputation if they had not been able to use secret ways. I must leave it to Father Pies to make further revelations on this point; I at least do not intend to lift the veil, till I know that he agrees! Anyhow, a regular *Terna* was drawn up and brought under the eyes of Fr. Beck, then Provincial of Austria with the full authority of a Visitor. I think he must have had the surprise of his life. And that Sunday afternoon after Easter 1944, deserves to go down in the annals of the Society, when all the more than 60 Jesuits that were in the camp at the time met round the Altar of the small Chapel in Block 26 and listened to the reading of an official communication, given by the legal authority of the Society, that Fr. L. de Coninck had been appointed Superior of the Jesuit Community at Dachau Concentration Camp. There was some emotion as Fr. Pies installed the new Superior and with very appropriate words referred to the deeper meaning of this event; and as Fr. Superior assumed the office, with great loyalty and conscious of his responsibility, we all together recited the Litanies of our Saints, especially composed for this and other occasions. We had lost that embarrassing feeling of being scattered atoms, cut loose from the body to which they connaturally belong; the full communication with our rules and constitutions was restored, together with the full merit of a daily life of obedience, and especially our young scholastics now

had a father who cared for them in the name of Our King and Lord to whom they had devoted themselves.

In the same way we had our monthly recollection from that date onward, and to our great satisfaction we saw that other spiritually homogeneous groups, as the Benedictines, Franciscans, etc., followed our example. We had a Mass of our own on every day when a Saint of the Society had a place in our calendar—early in the morning or at noon, or late at night, as circumstances allowed. There were the regular Tridua for the renovation of vows, the last being led by Fr. Riquet from Paris, who had come to join us at Dachau. And preceding the Easter of 1945, we all received a copy of the points for a retreat, one meditation every day, which was all we could do. The remarkable feature about these leaflets was that they had been typewritten on an SS typewriter, without the officers in charge knowing anything about it.

Community and Ministries

It was a marvelous community when we think about it now, marvelous in its component members. There were novices (one took his vows in the camp) and philosophers and thelogians. We had professors of every type of secular and sacred learning. There were Rectors and Superiors, a Master of Novices and more than one Spiritual Father. Procurators and Ministers we had amongst us, Prefects and First Prefects, famous preachers and simple parish priests, University students and Retreat Masters, Directors of Sodalities and of the Apostleship of Prayer, Cooks and Porters, and certainly one or two with a *"Cur. val."* after a meritorious career.

Marvelous too would be the roll of the dead, if we should put down the names of those who left us during those years; marvelous and moving. Fr. Maring, literally cut to death by a wild and inexcusable operation. Fr. Regout who died from liver and heart trouble; Mr. Musial, from typhoid fever; and Fr. Zwaans, from dropsy and dysentry. Others died under the medical

experiments for malaria, and others after being treated as test-rabbits for phlegmone. Another died as a result of air experiments—his lungs were conserved as a typical example of how they could be torn and rent. Six at least found their death in the so-called transportation of invalids, being gassed or otherwise done away with. Others went out as a burned-up candle, by complete exhaustion, hidden martyrs of our community, who offered their lives for Christ's Kingdom.

And equally marvelous would be the list of the actual functions Jesuits held in the Dachau catalogue. To give some examples: Fr. A., servant at a farm; Fr. B., sticker of paper bags; Fr. C., laborer Messerschmidt aircraft works; Bro. D., laborer SS garden; Mr. E., Block secretary; Bro. F. Vice room-senior; Fr G., in the hospital with itch; Fr. H., public scavengery workman; Bro. K., servant at the rabbit farm, the personal property of Herr Himmler; Mr. L., Mr. M., Fr. N., working at the pepper mill; Mr. O. working in some branch of V.1; Fr. P., quarry laborer; Mr. Q., in the hospital with typhoid fever; Fr. R., the same; Mr. S., penal hard-labor company (because his bed was not perfectly made); Fr. T., Disinfection service; Fr. U. and Mr. V., masons, building the new chimney of the crematory; Fr. W., labor-group darners of SS socks; Fr. X., weaver; Mr. Y., digger; Fr. Z., clerk SS Ministry of Finance, etc., etc. This list is by no means exhaustive. We have a rule that we must be prepared to help the cook in the kitchen, but in Dachau Communist chiefs took care that their own men got the best jobs and we had no chance.

Concealed Activities in Blocks 28 and 30

Apart from the work that was officially given, and often by means of it, there were also our spiritual ministries. And here again I cannot do more than give a summary view. It will be understood that we did not do any apostolic work as a group; that would have been very stupid, if at all possible. Nor did we

learn from each other all that was secretly done. We never talked about it as a rule, to avoid all danger, in case anyone should be put under pressure to confess what he knew. What each one did was done on his own responsibility and if some of the older "camp-hares" amongst us happened to know much of what was going on, it was because we kept our eyes open or because we were asked to give some advice privately. Nor do I by any means intend to say that the hidden apostolate and care of souls was practised exclusively by Jesuits. I know better. But it is undoubtedly true to say—and we do say it in the spirit of St. Paul—that no form of apostolic work was practised in the camp, in which we did not have some part and that more than one way was opened and stimulated by the example of one or other of our Fathers.

I have reflected more than once about broaching the question of influence and prestige within the community of the priests. But others have opened up the subject in Germany and created unnecessary trouble and just indignation. There are other things to be done at present than bringing such delicate questions to the foreground, before a public that has no means to judge and takes everything to be true that may satisfy its curosity. Let it suffice to say that a number of Dutch priests, to which Fr. de Coninck and the writer gladly gave their names, have drawn up a protest and sent it to His Holiness, the Pope, and to the German ecclesiastical authorities, to clear the Dachau clergy, and more especially the German priests from the slander thrown on them by those of their own countrymen, who attack them in writing and speeches, led by motives that are not to be discussed here. It is no desire to compare merits—of those Our Lord will judge—but an obvious matter of truth, that prompts me to say that the Jesuits were held in great esteem on the Blocks where they lived, that they were able to do some good and that their services were often called upon. And I hope there is some reason to believe that our Holy Founder, Saint Ignatius, will not

have been altogether dissatisfied with his sons in Dachau.

It will be clear, from what has been said of the separation of the Blocks, that it was not easy for those on Block 26 to know what went on among the Poles. But without any fear of error I venture to say that there, as well as on Block 26, some of our Fathers would head the list of those that exercised most influence, though in many ways they did so tactfully behind the scenes. Fr. Krzyszkowski and Fr. Turbak, to mention only two names, could certainly not be passed by. Who will answer the questions: how many confessions were regularly heard by our Fathers? What part did Ours take in the carefully planned and concealed Masses, said in the face of the Communistic Block-personnel and room-chiefs, who were unaware of it? How much was due to our Fathers and Scholastics, if we should trace to its source the power of heroic resistance and flat refusal, when new victims were summoned to undergo medical experiments on malaria, etc? How many small but visible crumbs of the Sacred Species were smuggled through the watchful posts of the SS control into the "Plantage," where hundreds of prisoners, weak in body, were comforted in their soul? When physical or moral evil had to be averted, the members of the Society—thank God—did not lag behind. When, during the last months before the liberation, disorder was growing day by day, and we decided to break through the bars of regulations—keeping one eye, nevertheless, on the Communistic spies and some unreliable SS inspectors—and our Polish brethren in the Priesthod were able to swarm into the little chapel of Block 26, more than once it was one of our Fathers who preached and led the ceremonies. And if our Polish Scholastics are applying themselves at present to the study of Philosophy and Theology with the same energy and zeal with which, after the liberation, they helped in constructing the enormous altar with its outstanding Cross, or decorated the impressive painting of their

dear "Black Madonna of Czenstochowa," their Province may be more than satisfied! Was everything they did always prudent? I think that it is only right to remember that to the Polish mind there are other norms besides those of cool prudence.

Block 26—The Hearth of our Hidden Apostolate

From the statement that the main centre of religious activity and apostolic work was on Block 26, it should not be inferred that what was achieved by others is depreciated nor would it be right to attach an exclusive significance to some forms of apostolic service which are now to be stressed with regard to the Block that was, more than any other, caught in the struggle between good and evil. It was Fr. de C. who started, as early as 1942, to give some points of meditation during a couple of minutes that could be found in the morning, before marching to the general morning roll-call, to all those who wanted to join in a dark corner outside. Those at least who heard him had something else to think about in the long, dreary, tiring hours when they had to stand at attention, under the brutal swearing of the SS guards and Block-chiefs. This practice gradually developed into evening points in the night rooms, which were given by our Fathers practically every night for about two years. Fr. Pies was asked to give a monthly recollection for all who wanted to attend, to give a daily five-minute talk on Our Lady during the month of May, 1943, etc. The chapel was packed full during the retreat which Fr. de C. preached, the nine days preceding Whit-Sunday of the same year, and at the many, many other occasions on which he gave an exhortation or led the Way of the Cross.

It is not only a personal satisfaction for Fr. Otto Pies, that it was he, more than anyone else, who made it possible for a German deacon, 6 months before his death, to be fetched from the tuberculosis barracks of the hospital and brought to the chapel of 26 to be ordained a priest for all eternity, with all the pre-

scriptions, as regards demissorial letters, etc, accurately fulfilled. And it was in the first place due to him, to his relations, to the secret entrances and exits he had discovered, that not only all the sick of the hospital could receive Holy Communion regularly, but that very few, if any, Catholics died without receiving the last Sacraments, from March 1943 until shortly before the end.

A few days before the arrival of the American Army, some 60 German Priests were taken from the camp and dragged southward; many of them could not keep up; footsore and utterly spent they lay down beside the road. Whenever their adventures will be told, without any flight of imagination, their story and the daring, perilous, shrewd way Fr. Otto Pies, who had been released a few days before, followed them, picked them up and rescued them from being shot by the controlling SS soldiers, will read as a romantic novel.

Catacomb Ways over Camp and Hospital

As I have said, we never inquired into each others doings. But it was easy to guess what Fr. Kolacek was after, when apparently absent-mindedly he left the Block, early in the morning or late in the evening, to meet some one or other of his Czech countrymen. During the hours free from work there always was at the gate of the small Block street, besides a porter, a courier whose task it was to call anyone who was wanted outside; we protected ourselves as far as we could against unwelcome visitors and the sudden arrival of SS surveyors, who should not catch us unawares. Again and again it was shouted: Pies, de Coninck, Kolacek, Riquet, for the French, Dehne, etc. Not to forget Fr. Lenz! He might be called the Samaritan of the Russians and displayed an unselfish charity that many called mad; but if it was so, it surely was the madness of the Gospel

As the end drew near, the secretaries of the camp could not possibly cope with the thousands of prisoners that were brought in, and they asked for help from

volunteers. The registration was a complicated and long drawn out business and the poor newcomers had to stand for hours, naked, huddled together like cattle in the open. It was an act of mercy to give a helping hand. At least one or two, and more often a dozen Jesuits could be spotted along the tables, questioning the French, Belgian, Italian, Russian, Czech, German, Jugo-Slav, Dutch, Norwegian, Croatian, Polish and other walking skeletons that had just arrived and still had some life in them. Thus we could hasten the work of registration and advance the hour when they would receive at least a piece of dry bread. That, however, was not the only end we aimed at. Heaven knows how many confessions could be secretely heard, how many Holy Communions distributed on these occasions; how many of those that stayed in the camp could be kept alive, bodily and spiritually; how many, too, of those that pined away, infected by some epidemic disease (it was no exception when 200 corpses had to be removed in one day) or of those that were driven further on after a short halt in the camp, received from us the first and the last, but the saving religious comfort.

Each had to find his own methods. But a special chapter could be written on the various ways the Holy Eucharist was carried everywhere, even into the utmost, isolated, forlorn nooks of the camp and the hospital, in spite of barricades and notice-boards forbidding entrance. And the Sacred Congregation of Rites would gasp at our self-made liturgy. One for instance would manage to climb unnoticed on a top-bed in the night-room and carefully divide one Host into 20 or more particles, wrap them in small pieces of paper and then stroll round the Blocks or the camp street, find his clients, who were on the look-out for him, have a chat, have a smoke, maybe, and shake hands, leaving the precious treasure in the possession of a happy soul. I know of one of our Fathers whose spectacle-case was a wonderfully handy pyx; another preferred a small tin cigarette case or the lining of his

cap. There were very few guards indeed towards the end, who did not relent at the sight of a cigarette; some were more expensive and required butter or milk. After the permission had been given to receive parcels, a considerable amount of the good gifts were used to bribe our way to a hungry, dying prisoner.

I am perfectly aware that I have not even hinted at all the forms of charity that were daily practised. New chapters would have to be added, for instance, on the medicines and drugs carefully hidden in our parcels and smuggled into the hospital, into the hands of reliable doctors and nurses; on the number of laymen brought into the chapel to hear Mass and fulfill their Easter duties; on the cleverly laid, tortuous paths, along which sacred vestments and ornaments for the little altar and chapel were obtained. In all these activities the Jesuits were most prominent.

Spirit of the Community

But nowhere was the application more energetic, the devotion to fellow prisoners more sincere, heartfelt and warm, than when fellow-brothers of the same Society were in need and trouble. It should be known to all, as it was known in the camp, that the Jesuits fostered and displayed an *esprit de corps*, worthy of their best and oldest traditions. This does not mean that there never was a diversity of opinion or a hasty word. During the hectic years in Dachau, with their long days of hard labor and their short nights of restless sleep, with their marches all day long, with their maddening, senseless, sudden changes of orders and the nerve-racking ordeal of being hunted about, being controlled, being called, being baffled, being hit in the face and the heart, physically and morally, and especially with the satanically created atmosphere, in which the whole community of priests could be arbitrarily punished by any SS churl, for the reason that someone had overlooked or forgotten one small detail of the infinite number of changing prescriptions, well, I should think that it was only a proof that we were

living men, and not statues of stone, if nerves gave way at times. But such moments were few and short amongst Ours; they were soon forgotten and left no trace.

We looked for each other; we found each other, getting around all regulations, and we helped each other in every way. Yes, in every way! Seldom have I been so impressed and moved as when, the day after arriving in the camp, after passing through five prisons, through sleepless nights, through fetters and blasphemous accusations, I was suddenly called to the wire netting by which the "Novitiate" of the camp was surrounded; it took me a moment or two to recognize Father Regout in his striped uniform; he had stealthily found his way where no one was allowed to go; a hasty look aside, to make sure that he was not observed, and before I realized what had happened, I saw him steal away, open a small parcel he had fumbled into my fingers and found. . . . a pipe, filled with tobacco and . . . . attached to it, wrapped in a very thin small piece of specially cleansed paper. . . . a very tiny but visible particle of a Host. That is only one illustration, which anyone of us could multiply many, many times.

In every way, one of Ours, weak himself, found a way to help a fellow-brother that was weaker still, by managing to get the "privilege" of doing some extra cleaning in one of the other Blocks; that work should have been done by the prisoners of the Block themselves; but they belonged to the prominent men and hired slaves from other quarters (should I repeat again that they were mostly Communists?). This was a privilege, because the willing servant had the right to return at noon and beg two or three potatoes and a cup of soup; it was a feast to him to share this extra allowance with his companion.

Whenever a new Jesuit arrived the news spread in no time; in no time he had some food for his body and soul and we tried to get him away from his closed Block—it cost us some tobacco or food to bribe the porter—and receive him in our midst, reassuring him

and making him believe that life was not at all so bad. A regular service was set up to provide them with extra food, as long as they were separated. During the last months two Fathers from Munich were enrolled in the penal labor company immediately after arriving; they never saw the camp, but they did see one or two of our Fathers (Otto Pies, of course, was one of them) and they did taste the good gifts from the parcels that were sent to us. There always were some and often many in the "Infirmary." Daily communications to and fro were maintained. We knew exactly how high their temperature was, how great their danger, which medicine and food they needed—and they got it, even if it had to be obtained from the chemist of the town of Dachau! We collected sugar in all its forms, when needed, or the special vitamins, often from a great distance, and Himmler would turn over in his grave if he knew that many of the drugs of his "Plantage" helped to restore the health of his prisoner-Priests. And we prayed, made others pray; and perhaps the wonderful recovery of more than one was due to the supernatural help from heaven, rather than to the natural effects of bodily aid. Yet with a heavy heart we saw two more die shortly before the end: Father Podolenski, the oldest Professed of our Community, always cheerful and considerate of others, and the valiant Polish scholastic Jurek Musial, who volunteered, together with a dozen other Jesuits, to nurse the thousands of typhoid patients. He, as all the others, was infected himself. He is the only Jesuit that was not cremated, but buried together with some ten thousand more, in one of the three collective graves outside of the town of Dachau. Shortage of fuel caused the crematory to close down.

Jesuits helped each other in every way. By providing some better clothes for a fellow-brother, who was covered with shabby, torn rags; by taking over some awkward job; by shoving some Father into a better working group, or protecting him against a change for the worse; or, as during the last year, by teaching our

Scholastics some philosophy and theology, which saved them a year after they got home; or by a friendly talk and warning just at the right moment. I can still taste the roasted rabbit that Fr. de C. and I received from two Polish scholastics two hours after the first American jeep entered the camp on April 29th; it came straight from the fire and I must admit that it carried a special flavor with it, coming from the cages that *were* Himmler's!

Tribute to Our German Fathers

That our Polish scholastics could be separated from their national group, enter our college at Pullach within two months after the liberation of the camp and from there, in spite of the restricted international communications, could be taken to Belgium, France and Italy to continue their studies, is not the chief and only reason, why I feel obliged to finish this letter by devoting a few lines to our German Fathers.

We knew that the invasion of the allied armies would inevitably mean the cutting off of all food supplies that came from our countries, in East and West. But we trusted that we should be able to hold out for one or two months. How slowly, however, did those long, long months from September 1944 till the end of April 1945 pass by, how teasingly slow! Often we have been asked how we kept alive during that time, how we had the power of physical resistance, during the last four months, when more than 12,000 corpses had to be buried, worn out by typhoid fever and other infectious and contagious diseases, the whole camp being one uncontrolled and uncontrollable seat of infection?

The answer to that, as far as human factors are concerned, is that we were fed by the German Fathers. It will be superfluous to emphasize the point that amongst us there were no national borders. We had an open mind and a sympathetic heart for the torturing interior conflict they had to fight out and did fight out and did fight out victoriously; the love of their

country and the absolute necessity of Germany's defeat, if Christianity was to survive. In the State of Dachau each of the 24 nations represented clung to its national ambitions and rights; they cannot be blamed for that. And although it was distressing to see the violent national passions which stirred the various groups and which caused friction and disharmony from time to time among those who were in captivity for the same cause, that, too, might be judged natural and condonable to a certain extent. More difficult it is to approve of Catholic priests, who were not able to distinguished in the German priest-prisoner between the German and the Priest. However, that may be: between the Jesuits there were no bars or borders of national division. I am sure that the German Fathers will be the first to admit this wholeheartedly.

It is no duty of formal convention, but one inspired by heartfelt gratitude that impels me now, in the name of the Polish, French, Czech, Belgian and Dutch Fathers, Scholastics and Brothers, to thank the German and Austrian Fathers, not only for the comfort and consolation which we derived from their friendship and care in days of misery and deprivation, but more especially for the magnanimous help they sent us from outside the camp, during the last six months, when we were left to ourselves and had no resources whatever. Two or three scholastics of Pullach were freed from all other occupations and went about collecting ration-cards, buying bread and butter, meat, cheese and even cakes, made up the parcels almost under the eyes of the SS at Dachau-town and dispatched them to accurate addresses, week after week, month after month. All the houses were asked to contribute and responded generously. And week after week a civilian driver drove his lorry from Munich to the Plantage, transacted his business, had a short talk with one of the prisoners, and drove off again, no one having the slightest suspicion that Fr. Otto Pies had given new directions to a former novice

of his now a scholastic at Pullach! Fr. Kurt Dehne and Fr. Bruno Schmidt administered the distribution from Block 26 and Fr. Pastuszha from Block 28, according to the need. Their Provincials should know that they are born Ministers. Fr. Heinzel and Fr. Stahl, both from Austria, had their own way of secretly depositing their gifts in our cupboards and often causing an agreeable surprise. To the Provincial of the Southern German Province, Fr. Francis Xavier Muller, it must have been a great satisfaction to hear that we were all relatively well, when he arrived in the camp the day after the Americans.

We have not been saved for ourselves, but for the Society. If our life and our work may be of some use to our Provinces and to the Society, then our German Fathers are eminent benefactors indeed. If we cannot forget what misled and degenerate Germans have caused us to suffer, we do not find it difficult to forgive and pray that any merits we might have gained through their fault may contribute to their eternal salvation. Against the hate and perversity, however, which cannot but be attributed to satanical instigation and cannot and should not be forgotten, stands out in grateful memory the love and nobility we were happy to experience and to which we owe to a great extent our salvation. At Dachau we witnessed and profited by the *Societas amoris* in its finest form. We pray Our Lord that He may reward their love for us as if it were shown to *Him.*

We are living as yet in a world divided, rent and ever further split and torn to pieces, in soil and soul, in spirit and ideals. Collective individualism has always proved more dangerous to humanity than personal egoism. The story of the Jesuits in the bonds of Dachau may, please God, be a modest stimulus to live and display that universal, super-national, supernatural spirit, which was the dominating ambition of St. Ignatius and his first companions in the world they had to meet: across all human frontiers and national limitation: one Chief and one aim, one Army and one

strategy in a world-wide, loyal effort to expand the Reign of Jesus Christ, the only reliable Leader of mankind.

Rome, Feb. 15th, 1947—Feast of Blessed Claude de la Colombiere, S.J.

FRENCH JESUITS IN WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA

CLIFFORD M. LEWIS, S.J.

Jesuits of the Maryland province do not often avert to the part played by their order in the early history of that corner of the province which lies west of the Alleghany Mountains in Pennsylvania. Yet the Society of Jesus had a major role in the discovery and early events of that region. The first cartographer of the valley of the Allegheny and Ohio was a student of the Jesuits, Chaussegros de Léry; the first man to give a scientific report on the area was the Jesuit mathematician and hydrographer, De Bonnécamps the honor of having said the first Mass is at least shared by the Jesuit de la Bretonnière; the first missionary to attempt a systematic conversion of the Indians of that region was the Jesuit Virot.[1]

[1]Until recent years some historians credited La Salle with having traversed Western Pennsylvania. He is supposed to have descended the Allegheny and Ohio rivers as far as Louisville in 1669 or 1670 and to have crossed Northwestern Pennsylvania on foot in 1680. The first journey is now wholly discredited. As for the march of 1680, it was evidently made north rather than south of Lake Erie. La Salle was nearing the end of his course in theology in the Jesuit Order when his inordinate restlessness and desire for adventure led to his separation from the Society. See Gilbert J. Garraghan, S.J., "La Salle's Jesuit Days," *Mid-America*, 19 (1937): 93-101.

In calling Father Virot the first missionary we are not unmindful that evangelical as well as trade motives have been attributed to the Dutch interpreter Aernout Viele, in his journey to the Shawnee of Pennsylvania around the end of the seventeenth century. Evidence of any missionary attempts on the part of Viele, an opponent of Father Le Moyne in New York, is, however, too meager to support a statement of fact.

Editor's Note: For more detailed references to sources employed in this article, the reader is referrd to a forthcoming issue of *Mid-America*, where the activities of the Jesuit priests are treated in more summary form as part of an article on all the French priests who labored in Western Pennsylvania during the struggle for possession between French and English.

It is of their activities, along with those of their Christian Indians, that we shall treat.

The Historical Setting

Following the extinction of the Eriez Indians around the middle of the seventeenth century, the Allegheny river valley of Western Pennsylvania was no more than an Iroquois thoroughfare for incursions into the South, until the arrival of French traders about 1720. Before that time the enmity of the Five Nations had prevented French exploratory curiosity concerning this important link between Canada and Louisiana. It has often been stated that Jesuit missionaries worked among the Indians of Western Pennsylvania during the latter half of the seventeenth century, but there seems to be no authenticated report of any priest's having set foot there before the Longueuil expedition of 1739 against the Chickasaw.

For nearly twenty years preceding this expedition French agents—particularly Louis and Toussaint Cavelier and Louis Joincaire—had made systematic attempts to draw the Shawnee of Pennsylvania into the sphere of their trade and friendship. These agents encouraged the Shawnee to move westward to the Allegheny, away from English influence. They mended the Shawnee guns, took the chiefs to Montreal for conferences.

In the meantime, beginning in 1727, English traders relying heavily on rum as a commodity in exchange for furs, penetrated the Allegheny valley in competition with the French. The Pennsylvania Quaker assembly, ignorant of the western boundaries of the colony and opposed in principle to the use of military force, turned a deaf ear to the governors' warnings of the growing encroachments of the *fleur-*

de-lis.[2] And this is about how matters stood when Longueuil took his forces through the colony in 1739 to oppose the recalcitrant tribes of the South. The long journey is of interest to us because of the participation of three priests: the Jesuit de la Bretonnière, the Recollect Vernet, the Sulpician Dépéret. Father Vernet was chaplain of the Canadians, while de la Bretonnière and Dépéret accompanied a contingent of Indians from the missions surrounding Montreal. Here we will say a few words concerning the importance of the Jesuits and their Indian charges to Canadian policy.

It is no exaggeration to say that the missionaries and particularly the Jesuits were essential to the well-being of the French colony. As Rochemonteix says, the purpose of the Jesuits in New France was first the instruction of the savages in the knowledge of the true God and secondly, the instruction of the young.[3] But the Jesuits' education and general aptitude for leadership among an unlettered frontier people made them useful to the government too, and the government was not slow in utilizing them. Complying with the Colbert ordinance of 1681 ordering every

---

[2]Correspondence of the governors of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Maryland for this period reveals a common notion that the Jesuits were a sort of spearhead for French intrigue. Typical of many addresses to be found in colonial records is the following extract from a talk by Governor Keith of Pennsylvania to the Five Nations on July 8, 1721: " . . . You know very well that the French have been your enemies from the beginning, and though they made peace with you about two and twenty years ago, yet by subtle practices they still endeavor to ensnare you. They use arts and tricks and tell you lies to deceive you, and if you would make use of your own eyes and not be deluded by their Jesuits and interpreters, you would see this yourselves, for you know they have had no goods of any value these several years past, except what has been sent to them from the English of New York, and that is now all over . . ." *Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania* (16 vols., Philadelphia, 1852); hereinafter *Colonial Records*, 3: 129. This apprehension does not seem to have been shared by the Iroquois, who told the council at Philadelphia in 1732 that "The French priests and others that come amongst them speak nothing but peace to them . . ." *Ibid.*, 439.

[3]C. de Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe siècle* (2 vols., Paris, 1906); hereinafter *Les Jésuites*, 2: 204.

college in a maritime location to give instruction in hydrography and navigation, the Jesuits quickly installed these subjects in their schools at Quebec and Montreal. They were instrumental in training many pilots for the rivers and oceans and many cartographers and explorers who laid open the secrets of inland waterways.[4] The missionaries themselves, because of their scientific knowledge and mastery of languages, were most useful in reporting on the nature of the newly acquired territories and in winning over the Indians as French allies. Missionaries also held the solution to the population problem. Immigration to New France was much slower than to the English colonies, doubtless because the long reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV meant more stable religious conditions at home. Moreover, little opportunity was given the Huguenots to settle in the New World. That there was any migration at all of even the French Catholic population must be attributed in part to the availability of priests in America. Since the French were still slow in coming, the next best thing was to give the Indians Christianity and French nationality. Hence the reductions.

Encouraged by the government, the missionaries established colonies of domiciled Indians around Quebec and Montreal. The clergy liked this because they found it impossible to instruct and civilize roving bands of savages. Under such a procedure, there was little opportunity to build a chapel or to say Mass. The government welcomed the arrangement because the Indians constituted a sort of militia for the protection of the colony and were readily available for duty in forays against the English and hostile tribes to the south and west. A serious drawback to mis-

[4]Before the eighteenth century hydrography instruction was usually given by laymen such as Jolliet and Franquelin. In 1712 the Jesuit catalogue lists for the first time a professor of hydrography, Father Le Brun. In 1716 Father de Lauzon came to Canada and occupied this chair until 1722. His successors were Father Guignas and, in 1743, Father de Bonnécamps, from whose hand we have a map of the Allegheny and Ohio rivers.

sionary endeavor, however, was the fur trade, which required the men of the tribes to be hunting and trapping far from home during the winter months. Often they failed to return home, affiliating themselves with pagan tribes in Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and in regions even further south. The missionaries were powerless to change the economic setup, since the very existence of their mission stations depended indirectly upon the income from furs. Trade brought with it, too, the evils of *l'eau de feu,* against which the savage had not yet built any of the inhibitions and controls characteristic of civilized men. The priests imposed impressive penances for drunkenness. The offender often found himself forced to attend Mass and prayers for many Sundays while kneeling outside the Church. Those who sold the intoxicants were sometimes threatened with excommunication, but the trade continued.

The work of evangelization was likewise hampered by the low character of many of the Canadian and French soldiers who occupied the forts and garrisons. Father Nau of Caughnawaga, writing to Father Bonin in 1735 says: "If there were no French in Canada . . . we would have as many saints in our mission as we now have Christians; but the bad example and solicitations of the French are a very great obstacle to the sanctification of our Iroquois." [5]

The missionaries seem to have resigned themselves to the warlike activities of their charges as an evil at least temporarily unavoidable. The Christian Indian, like the pagan, brought back his scalps and hung them proudly in his wigwam.

Rochemonteix, who writes favorably of the reductions, thus summarizes their influence:

> This Faith had developed the same French sentiments in the heart of the Hurons of Lorette, of the savages of the Lac des Deux Montagnes and of the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis. They joined

[5]Nau to Bonin, October 2, 1735, in R. G. Thwaites, ed., *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (73 vols., Cleveland, 1896-1901); hereinafter JR, 68: 267.

> our soldiers in all their expeditions against the English to the south of the colony and against the revolting Indian tribes to the west. Historians have asked what influence has really been exercised by the missionaries on the savages through the propagation of the Gospel. Even if we omit the Christian villages of the Illinois, the Huron converts of Detroit, the Micmacs and Christians of Chicoutimi and of Tadoussac, this splendid institution of domiciled Indians alone is a most effective response to those who belittle the apostolate in New France. The Indians of the reductions were, in the eighteenth century, most constant friends and a most firm support of the French colony.[6]

Among the reductions thus established were several which provided Indian warriors for the campaigns in Western Pennsylvania: the Iroquois village of Sault St. Louis, or Caughnawaga, on the south side of the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal; the mixed village of the Lac des Deux Montagnes, west of Montreal at the junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers; the Abnaki villages of St. Francis at the mouth of the St. Francis river and of Béçancour, farther up the St. Lawrence; and the Huron village of Lorette just west of Quebec (see map). Except for the mission of the Lac des Deux Montagnes (Oka) directed by the Sulpicians, all of these villages were under the supervision of the Jesuits.

Father de la Bretonnière at Caughnawaga

Father de la Bretonnière was born at Bayeux, France, on May 4, 1689, and entered the novitiate in Paris on September 20, 1710. Following his noviceship he taught for several years and studied theology at the colleges of La Flèche and Louis-le-Grand. He arrived at Quebec in 1721.

In that year or in 1725 he began missionary work at Sault St. Louis under the direction of Father Pierre

[6] *Les Jésuites*, 2: 19.

de Lauzon and settled himself to learn Iroquois. Three years later, he took part in the expedition against the Fox as chaplain of the Caughnawaga Iroquois. In a letter dated 1742, Father Crespel writes:

> They took me away from my parish to make me chaplain of a party of 400 French that M. le Marquis de Beauharnois has joined to eight or nine hundred savages from all kinds of nations: mostly Iroquois, Hurons, Nipissings, and Ottawas, whom M. Pellet, priest, and Father De la Bretonnière, Jesuit, served as chaplains. These troops commanded by M. de Ligneris were commissioned to go and destroy a nation called the Fox.[7]

These warlike Indians of the Illinois country had been bitter enemies of the French. Although defeated sixteen years previously at Detroit, they had resumed their attacks on the French and their Indian allies. This new punitive expedition set out on June 5 over the Ottawa route to the shores of the Mississippi, a voyage on which there were no fewer than thirty-five portages.[8] The enterprise is described by Father Crespel as absolutely useless, for the Fox took flight and survived to create trouble later. The expedition returned toward the end of September, and Father de la Bretonnière resumed his duties at Caughnawaga. After four more years Father Lauzon became superior of all the Canadian missions and Father de la Bretonnière was then put in charge of the Sault, with Father Luc-François Nau as his assistant. In a delightful letter written by Father Nau we have an intimate sketch of the daily routine at Caughnawaga and of the activities of Father de la Bretonnière during this period.[9]

Every morning at daybreak, winter and summer, Father de la Bretonnière said Mass for those who had to go out to the fields to work, at which time the Indians recited their morning prayers and then the beads, in two choirs. About nine o'clock he would

[7] *Ibid.*, 1: 190f.
[8] A picturesque description of this expedition is given in E. Devine, *Historic Caughnawaga* (Montreal, 1922), 220f.
[9] Nau to Bonin, October 2, 1735, JR, 68: 260-285.

FRENCH JESUITS
IN
WESTERN PENNSYLVANIA
1739-1759

begin instructing adults not yet baptized, in the catechism. At one o'clock he assembled the Indians who belonged to the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin and to the Congregation of the Holy Family and gave them an exhortation. The Holy Family, as Father Nau explains, was a select group who had passed through the Sodality with unmistakable marks of fervor and who practiced austerities which many religious would hesitate to undergo. Of those instructed in the Faith by Father de la Bretonnière in the year preceding Father Nau's letter, four were slaves captured in war.

Although the point is not obvious in Father Nau's letter, the missionaries nevertheless were not wholly unconscious of the ill effects of the military activities of their Christian Indians. Father Roubaud, to whom we shall refer later, a missioner at St. Francis, concludes his long description of the Indian massacres at Fort William Henry in 1757 with the following statement:

> . . . But you must also have perceived that passions, everywhere the same, produce everywhere the same ravages; and that our Indians, although Christians, are not on that account more blameless in their conduct. Their wandering and vagabond life is not one of the least causes of their misfortunes. Left as they are to themselves, and struggling with their passions without being sustained by the aid of even any outward religious performance, they escape for the greater part of the year the endeavors even of the most active zeal—which during this long time compelled to the saddest inaction, dwindles to the power of uttering in their behalf only prayers, which are almost always useless and superfluous. Perhaps the God of mercy will some day enlighten these unfortunate creatures on the dangers of their strange manner of life and will restrain them from their instability and their wanderings; but although that is an event which a missionary is indeed permitted to desire, it is not in his power to bring it about.[10]

We do not know exactly when the Caughnawagas

[10]Letter dated St. Francois, October 21, 1757, JR, 70: 201-203.

began using the Allegheny River as a highway to the South, but they probably traveled through the region as early as their pagan Iroquois brethren, with whom they remained generally on good terms. La Salle found the Senecas, for example, active as far west as the Mississippi toward the close of the seventeenth century. It is true that as the Iroquois early reduced the number of fur-bearing animals in their own territory near the French, English, and Dutch traders, they were forced to go south and west in search of them, both as hunters and middle men.

We do know that the Caughnawagas had a prominent part in the abortive attempt of the French to put down the Chickasaw in the Tennessee country in 1736. Father Sénat, Jesuit, died bravely at the stake. The whole party might have been annihilated had it not been for the courage of the Indians of Sault St. Louis.

When the survivors of this disaster had finally returned home to Canada, plans were laid for another concerted attempt againts the Chickasaw. An expedition was organized under the leadership of Baron de Longueuil, nephew of Bienville, governor of Louisiana. The party totalled 442 men, of whom 319 were Indians. Father Vernet, a Recollect, accompanied the troops into battle. Father Elie Dépéret, Sulpician expert in Indian languages, had charge of the Indians from the Lake of Two Mountains, and Father de la Bretonnière of the Iroquois from the Sault.

The Longueuil roster included no fewer than 166 Iroquois of the village of the Sault, 51 from the Lake of the Two Mountains, 32 Algonkins and Nipissings, and 50 Abnaki of the villages of St. Francis and Béçancour. The large turnout of Iroquois was ascribed by both Governor Beauharnois and the intendant Hocquart to the efforts of Father De Lauzon, superior of all Canadian Jesuit missions. The governor's letter to the minister of the marine follows:

> The Reverend Father de Lauzon has been very helpful to us during this whole affair. He has

> shown to the fullest extent his zeal for the good of the service. I have begun, My Lord, by thanking him personally. He did not leave the Indians until after their departure. I am obliged to him for their great number.[11]

The intendant writes in very similar vein:

> The Jesuit Father Lauzon, head of the missions in Canada, has helped effectively by inducing the savages of Sault St. Louis to carry out His Majesty's wishes. This priest has been a missionary in their village for twelve years, he has the confidence of the savages, and he has used this to make them agree. He deserves, My Lord, some evidence of your satisfaction with the zeal he has shown for the King's service upon this occasion.[12]

The official politeness conceals a Lauzon heartache, however. Rochemonteix tells us that in 1729 Father de Lauzon had written to Beauharnois, asking for help for the Caughnawaga mission, so that they could make it a more attractive domicile for those Iroquois who showed an inclination to embrace Christianity. He reports eleven or twelve hundred inhabitants, who have always helped against the English, "at one time against the Chickasaw; always they have left in great numbers, ready to do whatever the French wished." But Hocquart, Father de Lauzon's memoir of 1741 indicates, diminished rather than increased the revenues of the mission. Influenced by military and commercial interests, he turned a deaf ear to requests from the Sault, depriving them even of necessities. In spite of this treatment the Indians remained faithful. Rochemonteix states that when Father de Lauzon returned to the Sault and saw that Hocquart, accusing the Jesuits of carrying on illicit trade, had cut down on his support of the mission, he was physically affected and his death in 1742 was thereby hastened.

---

[11]Beauharnois to Maurepas, June 30, 1739, in S. Stevens and D. Kent, eds., *The Expedition of Baron de Longueuil* (Harrisburg, 1940, mimeograph), 9.

[12]Hocquart to Maurepas, September 30 [October 30?], 1739, *ibid.*, 11.

Among the distinguished personnel of the Longueuil expedition, many of whom were destined to win fame in the French and Indian War, was an eighteen-year-old cadet, Joseph Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry, engineer and cartographer, who thus became the first man to construct an adequate map of the Ohio River system.[13] He had entered the *petit séminaire* run by Jesuits at Quebec at the age of 10. Probably he took what the Jesuits had to give in hydrography and cartography. At any rate, his father, who was chief engineer of New France, readily supplemented this teaching with his private instruction and was so impressed with his progress that he sought for him the position of assistant engineer when he was only fourteen years of age. On that occasion the request was refused, but when the 1739 expedition was organized he again interceded for his son, this time successfully.

The party of avengers, setting forth in June, took the route along the southern shore of Lake Ontario, past the English Fort Oswego. The Indians had promised to leave English whiskey alone, but about 70 Abnaki and some of the Iroquois from the Lake of Two Mountains found the temptation too strong. They deserted. By the fourth of August the expedition arrived at the outlet of Lake Erie, above the Falls, and soon thereafter reached the Chautaugua portage. This ten-mile trek up Chautauqua Creek to the lake lying about 730 feet above Lake Erie must have been arduous in August for a military outfit carrying enough provisions for a sixteen hundred mile journey.

In his *Journal* of 1754, when de Léry was again at Chatauqua, he indicates the camp site of the 1739 expedition at the head of the lake, which is eighteen miles in length. From here their route led down Conewango

[13]De Léry came from a long line of famous engineers. His son, François-Joseph, continued the tradition by winning fame under Napoleon Bonaparte. This article had its inception in correspondence with Father Louis Chaussegros de Léry, S.J., professor of canon law at the Jesuit scholasticate of the Immaculate Conception in Montreal. Father de Léry, a descendant of the family of engineers, was kind enough to point out several sources used by the writer.

Creek into the Allegheny River at the present site of Warren, Pa. Father de Bonnécamps' journal of the Céloron expedition which followed the same route ten years afterwards will be discussed later and will give a good idea of the experiences of the Longueuil party in Pennsylvania. De Léry's diary for the early part of the 1739 trip has been lost, but his diary for the latter part indicates that the priests were following a custom of saying Mass frequently. Thus it may be inferred that they said Mass several times while passing through Pennsylvania. The supposition is strengthened by the fact that there was little danger of attack by a large enemy force. These Masses may well have been the first offered in Western Pennsylvania. Whether the honor of the first belongs to a Recollect, a Jesuit, or a Sulpician, we have no way of knowing. From the diary of Father Bonnécamps, we know that the Céloron expedition of 1749 required about two weeks to travel from Chautauqua Lake near the New York border to Logstown near the Ohio border, so we may safely infer that the Longueuil expedition would have been in Pennsylvania on at least one Sunday, and Mass certainly would have been said on a Sunday. However, unlike Céloron, who could afford to proceed leisurely, holding many councils with the Indians along the Allegheny and Ohio, Longueuil had an appointment to fulfill in the Chickasaw country. Even so, he probably found time to stop at Broken Straw village (Irvine), at the Delaware village of Attigué (Kittaning), and at the Shawnee village presided over by the French-Shawnee halfbreed trader, Peter Chartier, on the west bank of the Allegheny near present-day Tarentum. It is likely that if we had the early part of de Léry's diary we would read that the expedition stopped at Chartier's Town, distributed presents to the Indians, and held a council in which they again urged the Shawnees to move west-

ward under the protecting arm of their French father. However, their interpreters would have found that the Shawnee as late as August 1 had promised never to join a nation hostile to the English.[14]

Somewhere along the Ohio or Allegheny the party would have stopped to acquire an additional one hundred Iroquois warriors which Hocquart had engaged to join the expedition at the Belle Rivière. From Céloron's *Journal* we know that Longueuil did stop at Logstown and at the mouth of the Scioto, where there was a Shawnee Indian village whose warriors seem to have been willing to accompany him. Two items of anthropological interest attracted the attention of the young de Léry on the journey. The first was the admirable group of Indian petroglyphs at the mouth of the Little Beaver Creek. The second was the discovery of the remains of huge prehistoric animals (*"plusieurs Elephans"*) at Big Bone Lick, in the present state of Kentucky, a record of which he has left on his map of the Ohio.

Much to the disgust of the French back home, the expedition accomplished virtually nothing. On August 15, 1739, Bienville set up camp at Fort Assumption (Memphis), where he was joined shortly afterwards by Buissonière of Illinois, Céloron of Detroit, and

---

[14] *Colonial Records*, 4: 345-347. The Pennsylvania assembly showed no reaction to this troop movement within the boundaries of the colony, but Governor Thomas realized its significance, as demonstrated by his address of January 23, 1740:

> I am obliged to you for the particular description you have favoured me with of the situation of this province; but had you looked into a map of it you would have seen that the French have a very considerable tract of country adjoining to it, and that they have an easy conveyance from their principle (sic) settlements to their fort at Niagara, which is built either within the bounds of this province or upon the borders of it; and if our information be true, as there is not any reason to doubt it, a considerable body of them, in conjunction with a body of Indians, made a longer march a few months ago to attack some nations of Indians to the southward than will be necessary to bring them even to this city. *Colonial Records*, 4: 380f.

lastly Longueuil.[15] Exhausted from the strain of their long trip and the heavy burden of military supplies, the Canadians waited until February 21, 1740, before going to the attack under the direction of Céloron. The Chickasaw quickly sued for peace, which Bienville granted in April. Then the Louisiana governor burned Fort Assumption and returned to New Orleans, taking his nephew Longueuil with him. The Chickasaw merely took a respite before renewing their attacks. It appears from a letter of Father Nau to his mother (October 2, 1740) that Father de la Bretonnière accompanied Bienville. Father Nau writes: "Father de la Bretonnière, who accompanied our Indians on this expedition, returned to France by way of the Mississippi. I don't believe he will return to Canada." But Father Nau was mistaken, and as Rochemonteix adds, he did return to Quebec, and was named superior of Montreal in 1743.

In 1750, he was appointed to replace Father Tournois as head of the Caughnawaga mission, but the Indians sent word by a collier that they preferred Father Floquet, so the appointment was changed accordingly. We can only guess as to the motive behind the Indians' choice. Perhaps Father de la Bretonnière was a bit too strict for their liking. From 1752 to 1754 he fulfilled the duties of his last status in the Society, confessor at the college of Quebec, where he died on the first day of August, 1754.

The English Move Toward Possession of the Ohio

Longueuil's expedition was the first recorded visit by white men in the Ohio valley, but we know that occasional French and English traders had previously penetrated the region. Father Mermet, Jesuit, re-

[15] A vivid portrayal of the events at Fort Assumption is to be found in J. Delanglez, ed., "The Journal of Father Vitry, S.J.", *Mid-America*, 28 (1946): 30-59.
Speaking of the pagan Indians' pre-battle feasts, Father Vitry says: "The Christian Indians have another way of preparing themselves; they receive the Sacrament, and ask the Lord's blessing."

ported English trading forts on the Ohio and Mississippi as early as 1715. After 1740 the number of English traders in the Ohio valley rapidly increased. They enjoyed many competitive advantages over the French traders, whose activities, even to the sale of liquor, were normally rather closely supervised by the government. The English traders were practically "on their own." Source of supply of their trading goods was nearer and better, permitting them to undersell the French, who often were unable to supply the Indian demands.

It is not remarkable, then, that the Indians who were domiciled around Detroit began to withdraw from French influence. The best-known of the revolters was Nicholas, a Tobacco Huron, or Wyandot, who withdrew with a large group to the Sandusky region. He was followed there by the famous Jesuit missionary, de la Richardie, who then established the Sandusky winter mission with which Father Potier and Salleneuve later assisted. From this time on it may be said that the Ottawas, Hurons, Wyandots, Shawnees, Delawares, and others from the Allegheny to the Mississippi vacillated from the side of the French to the English and back again, depending on which side they believed their economic and political interests lay. For this reason the Indian agents and missionaries played key roles in determining whether the New World would become French or English territory.

The War of the Austrian Succession, embroiling England and France in Europe, had its counterpart in the King George's War of the New World, 1744-1748. The Dublin Irishman, George Croghan, spreading out his private trading empire in Western Pennsylvania and Ohio as far north as Lake Erie, encouraged the Indians to make attacks on the French. The French always pursued the policy of arresting English traders on the grounds of trespassing, and many of the latter from this time until after final English victory perforce made the trip to Montreal or Caughnawaga,

there to lie in chains.[16] The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle at the end of the war left the western boundaries to be established by a commission. At the same time the region just below the forks of the Ohio became

---

[16]The Caughnawagas were willing collaborators with French policy in the removal of English traders, perhaps because in addition to confiscating their goods it enabled them to make some extra money by selling their prisoners to the French. An example of their activities is the capture in 1753 of six Lancaster County (Pa.) traders operating on the lower Ohio. The seventy Caughnawagas in the party took their prisoners first to Detroit, where they sold two to Céloron. They took the remainder to Canada, where the governor-general refused to buy them. Much to their horror, they were adopted by the Indians. One of the traders, David Hendricks, writing for help to Albany, dates his letter "from ye damned Papist Church at ye Conewagoe Town, hard by Mount Rall." Conrad Weiser found out from a French Indian woman at Albany who had adopted one of the prisoners that the other Indians at Caughnawaga were displeased at the men who had captured the traders, "and in their drunkenness would call them old women and breakers of the peace . . ." A haughty letter from Ononraguite, chief of the Sault Indians, complaining of the low prices being offered for prisoners, contributed little to the good temper of the Pennsylvanians trying to free their friends.

Other accomplishments of the Caughnawagas at this time included the scalping of the "emperor" of the Cherokee just after he had been entertained by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia. The "empress", her son, and their attendants were carried as prisoners to Canada. Later the same summer Hitchen Holland, commanding at English Ft. Oswego, reported the passage of about fifty canoes of Indians, some of whom were Caughnawagas on their way to war in the South, and some Abnaki who were to join Marin in Northwestern Pennsylvania. This information on the French Indians is taken *passim* from the *Colonial Records,* vols. 5, 6.

This dark, gray picture of the warlike activities of the Christian Indians is somewhat offset by favorable comment. A tribute to Jesuit industry and to the behavior of the domiciled Indians while away from home is paid by a Rev. Mr. Barton, Episcopalian missionary of south-central Pennsylvania and later English chaplain at Fort Pitt, in a letter to the London Propaganda Society in 1756. He writes: "While the French were industrious in sending priests and Jesuits among them [*the Indians*] to convert them to Popery, we did nothing but send a set of abandoned profligate men to trade with them; who defrauded and cheated them, and practiced every vice among them that can be named . . . Others [*of our escaped prisoners*] observe that they (*the Indians*) crossed themselves every night and morning and went to prayers regularly; . . ."—T. Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* (4 vols., London, 1908-1917), 2:429.

One English captive, Colonel James Smith, came to love the Caughnawagas after being adopted by them and living with

a regular beehive of activity. The Iroquois began to push in from the Upper Allegheny and the Cuyahoga River. Kuskuskis, on the site of present-day New Castle, became a sort of Indian capital, with Logstown on the Ohio a trading center and scene of historic councils. Presuming on the authority of the Onondaga Council, these Iroquois, many of them originally from Caughnawaga, presided over the councils of the other nations, which included the refugee Wyandots along the Shenango River, the Delawares along the Allegheny, Ohio, and Big Beaver rivers, the Shawnee at Logstown, and a few scattered Chippewas and Mohicans.[17] The two dominant chieftains were Tanacharison, the Half King, who ruled over the Iroquois and Delawares, and Scarouady, an Oneida Iroquois, head of the Shawnee. Both resided at Logstown; both early formed an attachment to the English.

In April of 1748 Croghan visited Logstown with a present for the Indians and was joined in August by the famous Indian agent, Conrad Weiser, who brought

---

them four years while they hunted, trapped, and fished along the upper reaches of the Beaver and along the streams of Eastern Ohio. Knocked unconscious while runing the gauntlet at Fort Duquesne in 1755, he was revived by the French surgeon and witnessed the preparations that led to Braddock's defeat and head the screams of burning prisoners after the battle. Claimed by the Caughnawagas as their prisoner, he started out loathing them, ended by admiring them for their generosity and patience. Only some of the tribe were Christian, including Mary, his adopted sister. We might say that their positive virtues were mainly those of pagan Indians and restraints those that had been imposed by the Christian religion but the latter, we may well imagine, were not strengthened by an absence of more than four years from the ministrations of the Jesuits at Sault St. Louis, where Smith finally gained his freedom. See W. Darlington, ed., *An Account of the remarkable occurrences in the life and travels of Col. James Smith, during his captivity with the Indians, in the years 1752-1759* (Cincinnati, 1870).

[17]The Indians on September 8, 1748, gave Conrad Weiser the following account of their numbers: "The Senecas 163, Shawnee 162, Wyandots 100, Tisagechroanu (Hurons?) 40, Mohawks 74, Mohicans 15, Onondaga 35, Cayugas 20, Oneidas 15, Delawares 165; in all 789. Of the 74 Mohawks, 27 apparently were from the Canadian reductions. R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels* (32 vols., Cleveland, 1904-1907), 1 (Weiser's *Journal*): 212, note 49.

an even larger gift.[18] These activities on the part of the Pennsylvania government were paralleled by Virginia's increasing interest in the possibilities of the fur trade, an interest which grew to such an extent that the French and Indian War in the West may almost be regarded as a contest between France and Virginia, with Pennsylvania a hapless victim in the role of half-hearted participant. A company of Virginia gentlemen, with the aid of some English, formed the Ohio Land Company in 1749, and asked the grant of a half million acres below the forks of the Ohio. Lawrence Washington, George's brother, was the president of the company.

Seeing that control of the Allegheny and Ohio meant control of the West, the Marquis de la Galissonière, New France's energetic governor-general, notified the governor of Pennsylvania to keep English traders out of the region west of the Alleghenies. To back up his threat with action he dispatched Captain Céloron de Blainville in the summer of 1749 with an expedition designed to sweep out all rival traders and to pre-

[18]Weiser, originally a Lutheran, was consecrated to the priesthood as Brother Enoch in the Seventh Day Baptist celibate community at Ephrata. He soon left and until his death in 1760 was one of Pennsylvania's most worthy Indian agents. Despite the fact that on visiting Onondaga he was impressed with the civility of the large numbers of Caughnawaga Christians visiting there, he concurred with his Pennsylvania brethren in a general hysterical fear of all things Catholic. He was particularly moved by the fear of their assistance to the French, perhaps heightened by arrival of the Acadians in Philadelphia, where Governor Hardy of New York believed a scheming and "ingenious" Jesuit resided. A letter of Conrad Weiser and four other justices of Berks County to the Pennsylvania governor, July 23, 1755, contains the warning: "We know that the people of the Roman Catholic Church are bound by their principles to be the worst subjects and worst of neighbors, and we have reason to fear just at this time that the Roman Catholics in Cussahoppen (Goshenhoppen, early Jesuit mission), where they have a very magnificent chapel and lately have had large processions, have had bad designs, for in the neighborhood of that chapel it is reported and generally believed that thirty Indians are now lurking, well armed with guns and swords or cutlashes. The priests at Reading, as well as at Cussahoppen, last Sunday gave notice to their people that they could not come to them again in less than nine weeks, whereas they constantly preach once in four weeks to their congregations; whereupon some imagaine they've gone to consult with our enemies at Duquesne."

pare the way for military occupation of the whole route from Montreal to the Mississippi by way of the Forks of the Ohio. The chaplain of the expedition was Father Joseph-Pierre de Bonnécamps, Jesuit, who was destined to play an important part in the history of Western Pennsylvania.

Father de Bonnecamps and the Celoron Expedition

The study and teaching of science and mathematics were the whole absorption of Father Bonnécamps in New France when he was not on exploring parties. Born at Vannes September 7, 1708, he entered the Jesuit novitate in Paris in 1727. Following his philosophy at La Flèche he taught at Caen and Vannes; then he went to Paris for four years of theology at Louis-le-Grand College. At the completion of his course in 1743 he left for Quebec, where he was made professor of hydrography. There he made his profession of the four vows on December 8, 1746. In Quebec he was enabled to renew a life-long friendship with Bishop Pontbriand, former school companion and fellow townsmen.

It was in June of 1749 that Father de Bonnécamps received the commission to accompany Céloron on an expedition fated to receive much more historical attention than the earlier and no less important journey of Longueuil. Céloron's activities have been treated rather fully by the historians Lambing, Marshall, and Galbreath, among others, and a critical analysis of their studies would be out of place here. We shall rather concentrate on the part played by Father de Bonnécamps, adding other notes only if they seem to supplement, clarify, or correct what has already been written.

The purpose of the expedition is clearly set forth in the following letter of de la Galissonière to the minister of the marine, June 26, 1749:

> I have ordered Sieur de Céloron to renew possession of the Belle Rivière [Ohio], and I have charged him to examine well and determine what

establishments can be made here. I have given him as chaplain the Reverend Father Bonnécamps, Jesuit mathematician, who will be able to make more complete and detailed reports than have yet been given of that country and those regions through which the detachment will pass in going and coming.[19]

At the same time, the governor-general sent de Léry and Lotbinière to Detroit and Michillimackinac, respectively, to make observations and reports. In the same letter as above he revealed that Father de Bonnécamps had prepared instruments for taking altitude, for himself and de Léry. As early as October of the previous year Father de Bonnécamps had ordered new equipment for his course in navigation through the intendant Bigot; he requested a seconds clock, a telescope, a quadrant and three-foot radius furnished with a telescope instead of a sight-vane, and a lodestone. Rochemonteix says: "The quadrant did not arrive at Quebec until after the voyage of the Jesuit to La Belle Rivière; consequently his observations did not have the precision desired." [20]

Céloron's first entry states that he set out from La Chine on the fifteenth of June with a detachment composed of one captain, eight subaltern officers, six cadets, one chaplain, twenty soldiers, one hundred and eighty Canadians, and about thirty Indians, there being as many Iroquois as Abnaki. Prominent among the officers were Contrecoeur, later commander-in-chief of all French forces in Western Pennsylvania, the Joncaire brothers, and de Villiers. Journals of this trip by way of Chautauqua Lake and the Allegheny were kept by both Céloron and Father de Bonnécamps. They are published along with critical notes by Lamb-ing and Marshall in C. Galbreath, *Expedition of Céloron to the Ohio Country in 1749* (Columbus, 1921).

Ascending the dangerous rapids, most of the twenty-three canoes were badly damaged on the second day, and on the third day out, the canoe of one of the

---

[20]Rochemonteix, *Les Jésuites*, 2:75.

Joncaire brothers overturned. One of its four occupants was drowned. On the return trip, Father de Bonnécamps, with the pride of a true voyager, boasts that he "shot all the rapids." They had rather colorful names: the "Gallops," the "Flat Rapid," "The Long Sault," "Thicket," and "Hole." "The Long Sault," he remarks, "has its difficulties. It is necessary to have a quick eye and a sure hand, in order to avoid on the one side the Cascade, and on the other a great rock—against which a canoe, were it made of bronze, would be shattered like glass."

A certain conservatism marks his observations, lending credence to his *Journal.* The danger of the rapids "had been rather exaggerated to me," he says of the St. Lawrence. Not far above the mouth of French Creek, in Pennsylvania, Chabert de Joncaire caught seven rattlesnakes, the markings of which are described by Father de Bonnécamps with meticulous accuracy. With regard to the popular belief that squirrels are hypnotized by the serpents, he comments: "I have read a statement similar to this reported in philosophic transactions; but I do not give it credence, for all that." Stopping at the mission of the Sulpician Abbé Piquet, at La Présentation, he observes that, "according to Abbé Piquet, the soil is excellent, but it did not appear so to us." In the neighborhood of the Great Kanawha River of Virginia they began to see the "Illinois cattle" (buffalo), but "they were in such small numbers that our men could scarcely kill a score of them. It was, besides, necessary to seek them far in the woods. We had been assured, however, at our departure, that at each point we should find them by hundreds, and that the tongues alone of those which we should kill would suffice to support the troops. This is not the first time when I have experienced that hyperbole and exaggeration were figures familiar to the Canadians."

Because of the variety of its observations, Father de Bonnécamps' account is one of the most revealing of its time. He lists many of the valuable species of

trees he has noticed, and mentions such items as large crabs and wild turkeys. Yet he does not value highly his ability as a biologist: "Eyes more trained than ours, would, perhaps, have made discoveries which would have pleased the taste of arborists." Knowing the conservatism of his other accounts, we are inclined to believe his remarkable account of having dined near the forks of the Ohio in a hollow "cotton-tree [Sycamore?], in which twenty-nine men could be ranged side by side."

The writer can testify to the faithfulness of his description of the famous Indian God Rock, on the Allegheny River about nine miles below the mouth of French Creek. In his entry for the third of August he notes:

> We continued our route, and we marched, as on the first day, buried in the somber and dismal valley, which serves as the bed of the Ohio. We encountered on our route two small villages of Loups [Wolf tribe of Delawares], where we did not halt. In the evening, after we disembarked, we buried a second plate of lead under a great rock, upon which were to be seen several figures roughly graven. These were the figures of men and women, and the footprints of goats, turkeys, bears, etc., traced upon the rock. Our officers tried to persuade me that this was the work of Europeans; but, in truth, I may say that in the style and workmanship of these engravings one cannot fail to recognize the unskillfulness of savages. I might add to this, that they have much analogy with the hieroglyphics which they use instead of writing.

He does not mention the very similar pictographs at the mouth of the Little Beaver that had attracted de Léry's attention. He actually missed Big Bone Lick. When the party reached the Miami Indian country the savages told him he had "passed within two or three leagues of the famous salt-springs where are the skeletons of immense animals. This news greatly chagrined me; and I could hardly forgive myself for having missed this discovery. It was the more curi-

ous that I should have done this on my journey, and I would have been proud if I could have given you the details of it."

De Bonnécamps' *Journal* also contains much information concerning the disposition of the Indian tribes and notes concerning military forts and potential locations. His map indicates numerous small villages of Iroquois and Loups along the Allegheny, many of whose occupants took fright and ran into the woods. At Attigué (Kittaning) "all the people had fled to the woods. Seeing this, we went on, and came to the old village of the Chaouanons (Chartier's old Shawnee village), where we found only a man and a woman, so old that their united ages would make fully two centuries." Soon after they left this place they came upon five English traders with about forty packets of the skins of bears, otters, cats, precans [raccoons?], and roe-deer. These men were ordered out of the valley and given a letter of warning to the "governor of Philadelphia."

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon of August 8 they came to Logstown, or Chinningué (Shenango) as Father de Bonnécamps puts it. The banks were lined with people, who saluted the French with four volleys. After an exchange of compliments with the chiefs, Céloron demanded that the English flag—flying beside the French—be pulled down. Eighty men were placed on guard that night, and all the French and Canadians slept in their clothing. Next morning Joncaire was advised that eighty warriors were starting from Kuskuskis on the Big Beaver to aid Logstown in an attack on the French. The bold front of Céloron's men so impressed the Indians that they withdrew quietly without causing any disturbance.

The village of Chinningué was composed largely of Iroquois, Shawnee, and Delaware, but Céloron notes that besides these nations there were Iroquois from Sault St. Louis and from the Lake of Two Mountains, Abnaki, Nipissings, and Ontarios. "This gathering," he said, "forms a bad village, which is seduced by the

allurements of cheap merchandise furnished by the English, which keeps them in very bad disposition towards us."

Even greater dangers were in store for the party as they proceeded down the Ohio. Nearing the Scioto, Céloron sent Joncaire and Niverville ahead to a Shawnee village to prepare the way for the expedition. The Indians fired at the approaching envoys. When they landed there was talk of binding them to the stake. An Iroquois standing by came to their rescue and reassured the Shawnees concerning the good intentions of the French.

At Scioto too there were about thirty men from Sault St. Louis and some from Oka, attracted by the low-cost English merchandise. "The son of Arteganukassin is there," Céloron records, "and neither his father nor myself could succeed in taking him away."

Proceeding up the Miami river, Céloron's party failed to placate the temper of the rebel chieftain "La Demoiselle," who probably was finding English trading facilities to his advantage. At Detroit, however, Father de la Richardie informed Father de Bonnécamps that Nicholas' band of revolters was dispersing, about the only good reports the French had about the Indian situation during the whole journey.

Terrible storms in which the expedition nearly foundered on Lake Ontario give some hint of an important reason for developing an inland water route to the Mississippi. Unfavorable winds, choppy water, and ice lingering in the lake sometimes until May made travel on the Great Lakes extremely undependable.

We should not overlook the fact that Father de Bonnécamps was also chaplain to the Indians on the voyage and was not unique in experiencing trials to his patience. It was inevitable that some of the Indians should have dallied at Fort Chouegen (Oswego) to imbibe the English rum. Apparently they brought some of it along to the Niagara portage and held up the progress of the expedition while they amused

themselves. Forced to wait again for them at Detroit, Father de Bonnécamps' annoyance is manifest in his reference to the Indians as "a class of men created in order to exercise the patience of those who have the misfortune to travel with them."

Céloron and Father de Bonnécamps arrived in Quebec on November 18, their journey having consumed nearly six months. Father de Bonnécamps' report was pessimistic concerning the actual or even potential character of Canadian colonists in the Illinois country. Those that had been sent there were very indolent, some had even removed to other places. Céloron was equally pessimistic, both as to the disposition of the Indians towards the French and the possibility of French traders' successfully competing with the English. With the additional note of difficulty of transporting supplies to that distant region, he touched on the very factors that were to doom the French to ultimate defeat on the Ohio.

Almost on the heels of the Céloron expedition, Croghan and Montour went to Logstown and found the Indians very desirous of an English fort on the Ohio. A few days later they were joined there by Christopher Gist, representing the Ohio Company, who was sent out to offset the French influence in the valley. Like Weiser and Post, other English agents among the Indians, he was a very religious man. In his journal for 1750 he describes a Christmas service "according to the Church of England" he held for the Ohio Indians. He found that the savages had been supplied by the French with a device for telling the days of the week so that they could maintain their religious observances while away on their hunts.

In the following year, 1751, Joncaire had a test of strength with Croghan and Montour at Logstown, but suffered the humiliation of having the Indians cast in their lot with the English. The British ascendancy was short-lived, however, for upon the death of de la Jonquière, Marquis Duquesne became governor-general of New France and immediately began the strengthen-

ing of the long, sinuous communications line whose weakest section was Western Pennsylvania.

Governor Duquesne dispatched a force from Quebec under Monsieur Boishebert in January of 1753. These men arrived at Chautauqua Creek about four months later. They were preparing to build a fort at the mouth of the creek when Marin came up with an additional force, took over the command, and decided to locate the fort at Presqu'Isle, near the foot of present Parade Street, Erie. From this point a portage plank road, fifteen miles long and bridged nearly all the way, was constructed to a second fort at a little lake which emptied into La Rivière aux Boeufs (French Creek, at Waterford, Pa.). At this fort pirogues and canoes were constructed for the transport of military supplies down meanderng French Creek into the Allegheny at Venango. Here Joncaire, a frequent visitor to the region, had taken up quarters in the house of the English trader, John Fraser. The French would have built a fort here, but could not win the consent of the Delaware chief, Custaloga, whose village was located on French Creek at the mouth of Deer Creek, about twelve miles north of Venango.

Following the conventions of the period, which ruled out much winter fighting, the majority of the French troops withdrew into Canada, leaving but a small garrison at the two forts. Provision for religious services was made by the inclusion of a chapel in each of the forts. For our knowledge of the chaplains of these forts we are indebted to a *Register of the Baptisms and Interments which took place at Fort Duquesne during the years 1753, 1754, 1755, & 1756.* For an English translation of this work we have followed Father Lambing, who has printed the *Register* in both French and English, in installments, with annotations, in *Historical Researches,* 1884 and 1885.[21] This record was compiled from a collection of duplicate reports

[21]The O'Rourke Library possesses one of the one hundred copies of the French edition from the Cramoisy Press of John Gilmary Shea, 1859. It bears Shea's autograph.

signed by the commanders of the forts and sent to Canada. The *Register* is apparently incomplete, for it is certain that there were more deaths during the Ohio campaign than are recorded here. Although intended as a record only for Fort Duquesne, "at the Beautiful river, under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin," the *Register* includes interments made at Fts. Presqu'Isle and Le Boeuf before the building of Ft. Duquesne. It reveals intimate details of the activities of the three Recollect priests, Anheuser, Baron, and Collet, who have signed their names to the entries. To this reformed grey-robed branch of first-order Franciscans was entrusted the greater share of chaplaincies with New France army detachments. The *Register* ends at 1756, but from it we can deduce the type of duties that were required of the Jesuit chaplain Father Virot during the years 1758 and 1759.

The War Begins

Open hostilities began when Washington surprised and killed or captured all but one of the small French scouting party headed by Jumonville, near the summit of the mountain overlooking present-day Uniontown. This was on May 28, 1754. Within three weeks Louis Coulon de Villiers, Jumonville's brother, had raced all the way from Canada to newly constructed Ft. Duquesne, on the site of today's Pittsburgh, to avenge his death, looked upon by the French as an assassination. With him were more than a hundred Indians representing practically all the Christian compounds.

Conforming to Indian conventions, Contrecoeur called a council of war when the party reached Ft. Duquesne, in which he and the other officers urged the Christian Indians to avenge the death of Jumonville. The council probably had the added intention of impressing the Pennsylvania Indians with the equality and dignity which the French accorded to their domiciled Indians. At any rate, some of the Ohio Indians, albeit hesitantly, joined the French.

Following Washington's surrender at Fort Necessity, some of the Indians, in violation of the peace terms, captured several of the English and managed to scalp a few in spite of French intervention in their behalf. The unknown soldier, J. C. B., who reports this event, does not identify by tribe the Indians guilty of this act.

Upon their return to Fort Duquesne, the domiciled Indians met with the Ohio tribes, announced their general peaceful intentions, declared that they had had their venegance and would depart for Canada, leaving behind four men of each nation to help in the defense of Ft. Duquesne over the winter. The reactions of the Ohio Indians to French aggressiveness were various. As early as February Shingas, a Delaware chief at Sawcunk, at the mouth of the Beaver River, had gone over to the French. The Shawnee at Logstown had forced the French to leave that place while they were squaring up stones for a fort. In June of 1754 Scarouady burned Logstown, and he and the Half King joined forces with Washington. The defeat of the latter led to their repudiation by the Onondaga Iroquois council, which advised neutrality. Many of the Shawnee and Delawares who remained on the Ohio returned to Logstown, which the French then rebuilt. In the following spring these new allies accepted the hatchet from a band of Six Nations, Caughnawaga and Adirondacks warriors on their way to war in the South, and the Pennsylvania frontier war was on.[22]

(*To be continued*)

---

[22]Croghan reports this in his dairy, *Early Western Travels*, 1:85f.

HISTORY OF LOYOLA VILLA

(Battles Wharf, Alabama)

1876-1946

JAMES A. McKEOUGH, S.J.

In 1876 the Society of Jesus purchased a large piece of property shaded by lofty oaks and pines on the eastern shore of Mobile Bay. A year later Father Beaudequin erected a frame building, called Loyola House, which served as a summer villa, where the teachers and the students who remained at Spring Hill College for the summer spent their vacations.

Loyola House was constructed to accommodate about forty people. Downstairs were a few rooms for the Fathers, and a chapel. In the center of the house was a large dining hall. The whole second floor was a dormitory. The kitchen was in a separate building a few yards east of the main house.

To reach the villa it was necessary to travel by steamboat from Mobile. The boats were paddle-wheelers built in the early 1800's. As time went on boats with screw propellers were introduced. Such ships as the *Pleasure Bay*, the *James E. Carney*, and the *Crescent City* crossed the bay, making landings at Daphne, Fairhope, Battles Wharf, Point Clear, Zundels. For two or three hours those crossing to Loyola House enjoyed the breeze and the sunny skies. It was a real pleasure trip. Particularly striking was the return trip by night. From the middle of Mobile Bay you could see the lofty cupola of Spring Hill College overhung by a circle of electric lights.

Until 1900 Spanish-speaking scholars who attended the college accompanied Ours to villa. Since these students could not get home for the summer, the Society gave them a two weeks' vacation of swimming, rowing, and fishing. In the evening by moonlight they rowed their boats and sang their favorite songs.

Occasionally there were visitors at villa. One day

Admiral Semmes, who had a summer residence in the vicinity, dined with the Fathers and Scholastics. After dinner they decided to have a boat race. In his book, *The Torch on the Hill*, Father Michael Kenny tells us that "the old sea captain took command of the new 'Alabama' and completedly outmaneuvered the 'Loyola.' These boats were the first units of the boating flotilla. The 'Alabama' was named in compliment to Admiral Semmes."

Between the villa and Battles Wharf was a little country church. Here the Fathers said Mass on Sundays and preached. There were many Catholics along the eastern shore of Mobile Bay during the summer months. Our Fathers, therefore, had ample opportunity for apostolic work. In 1882 Father Freund of the Society was ordained and sang his first Mass in this little church near Battles Wharf.

From time to time there were accidents at villa. Brother John Samuel, S.J., drowned on June 11, 1889. Two years later four scholastics and twelve boys were caught in a terrific storm about four miles from our landing. As their boats struck a sand bar the rudder broke loose, but some of the boys dove overboard to recover it. The four Jesuits thought it would be wise to jump overboard and swim for the shore. Later they were glad they had changed their minds, because the next day they learned that others had perished there in the quicksand. Finally they got the boat off the sand bar, repaired the rudder and headed for villa as fast as they could row. They reached home in safety.

During the Presidency of Father William Tyrrell, S.J. (1899-1906), the outdoor chapel was built. Up to this time Mass was said in a small room in Loyola House.

In 1910 the villa house was renovated. A new section was added at the north end of the house, the roof repaired, the dormitory sectioned off to make rooms, the dining hall enlarged. To this day you can

still see signs of the old structure and the beginning of the enlargement which was done in 1910.

On July 5, 1916, a furious hurricane hit Mobile. At villa, high water reached the huge front doors. Between the kitchen and the house the water was knee deep. Most of the bath-houses on the eastern shore were smashed to pieces by the winds and the waves, but ours remained standing. However, part of the wharf was destroyed. For days there was no communication with Mobile. This storm changed the whole eastern shoreline by bringing it in about fifteen feet.

Let us pause in our chronological narrative to see how life was spent at the villa at this time. Two Coadjutor Brothers, assisted by several Negroes, did the cooking. On Fridays the scholastics brought to the kitchen fish and shrimp they had caught early that morning. Favorite picnics consisted of a barrel of beer, frankfurters, sauerkraut, and cheese. On these famous German picnics of the early 1900's there was plenty of singing and amusing speeches. A good time was had by all.

During the day there were boat races, swims, and walks. From time to time a huge launch took a crowd out to the channel to fish for snappers. If the Spanish boys were at villa over the Fourth of July there were plenty of fireworks with which they used to stack up before leaving Mobile. With these firecrackers they had naval battles. A group would get in one boat and a group in another; then the fireworks would start, with the shooting of rockets at each other.

In the evening there was singing at the wharf or around huge bonfires blazing on the beach. Some would gather in the house to play cards; others would go off for a night of fishing or rowing in the moonlight.

At the end of a happy day our men blew out the oil lamps, said their prayers, and stretched out on their cots for a good night's sleep.

In 1923 the boats discontinued their trips to Battles Wharf. However, a trip was made to Fairhope until

1934. From there to villa is a short distance. Some made the boat trip to Fairhope and then got a ride to villa; others came all the way by car.

During the summer of 1937 the philosophers stationed at Spring Hill had their first villa at Battles. These annual trips continued until 1943. Because of the war they had their summer vacation at Spring Hill from 1943 to 1945.

During the school year 1945-1946 Loyola Villa was renovated. Under the wise planning and able direction of Father Henry Tiblier work was begun in the fall. Each Thursday a group of philosophers piled into their bus for the hour ride to villa. They worked from 10 a.m. until 4 p.m. with saws, hammers, paint brushes. The only time out was for examen and lunch. During the week hired carpenters, plumbers, and electricians continued the work.

While all this work was going on at Battles, Mr. Laurendine, a retired Mobile architect and shipbuilder, and some of the philosophers were busy in the carpenter shop making boats for villa. Last summer there were nine skiffs and two motor-boats in constant use. That summer all the philosophers enjoyed fully the fruits of their labors.

In these few pages we have tried to give a brief history of Loyola Villa, Battles Wharf. Many events took place which we have not recorded. They are engraved in the hearts of all Jesuits who spent their summers there. May all who come to Loyola Villa grow in health and charity as true sons of St. Ignatius.

THE GOLDEN JUBILEE OF CAMPION HALL

VINCENT TURNER, S.J.

It was on a day in the early September of 1896 that the first Jesuits came into residence in the University of Oxford.* They were then lodged in a house, standing some little way back from the road, on the east side of St. Giles; but from there they shortly moved to number eleven, St. Giles, on the opposite side, the property leased from St. John's College, where our Oxford Hall remained until 1945. There we were when in 1921 the silver jubilee was celebrated.

In the first twenty-five years of its life Campion Hall (or Clarke's, Pope's, and Plater's Hall as it succesively was) had quickly reached and was maintaining a remarkable position in the University. For its size, its academic record surpassed that of any other College; and this came to be remarked on in University histories and books about Oxford. There were, of course, outstanding successes, like those of Fathers Martindale and Martin and Conyers D'Arcy and others, but these successes themselves shone out against a background of continuous first-class achievement. It was a house, moreover, of vivid personalities, and one to whose common-room dons loved to go, sure of an evening's talk, both intelligent and affectionate.

But the structure of the house imposed limitations that the present Campion Hall is free of, and for this and other reasons the second twenty-five years of the Hall's history have been able to bring to flower all that was in germ in the first. So that the Golden Jubilee last year marks a period not of mere conservation and treasuring of what had been won, but of still more growth and development and expansion. For very much has happened since 1921.

There is, to begin with, the new building: coherent

---

* Editor's Note.—This account of the Golden Jubilee of our Jesuit Hall at Oxford is taken from *Letters and Notices.*

and serene, austere and graceful, roomy and sensible; whose internal decoration is worthy of its architecture. Of course, for countless things the new Hall is immeasurably in the debt of its late Master, and it is to his patience and perspicacity, and to the affection that he inspired in his friends, that it owes a wide-ranging collection of older and modern works of art that is unique in Oxford and recalls a lost ideal of ecclesiastical and University patronage. But whatever touches the perfection of the altar and the celebration of Mass has always been the first of considerations, and it was fitting that on July 25th, the first of the two jubilee days of this year, one of the chief delights of the guests was a selection of vestments exhibited in the lecture-room. Here were on show both centuries-old English and other chasubles and also vestments made up from lovely materials whose original purpose, however, was quite other; and more than one of those present commented on the propriety of this as a symbol of what Campion Hall has come to represent—the loving stewardship of the traditional and, along with it, the vigorous assimilation and intelligent translation into the economy of the Faith, of whatever is anywhere good and noble and naturally perfect in its quality.

A fragrance, too, lay around the other exhibition to be found, that day, in the library; for here were relics and books used by Edmund Campion in his Oxford days and at Douai, and the autograph MSS. of Gerard Manley Hopkins.

In the last twenty-five years the main business of the Hall, the University education of our own scholastics, has gone on apace and with gratifying results; nor need the results in the Oxford Final Schools fear comparison with those of "the age of the giants." And it was again fitting and welcome that a prominent feature of the jubilee garden-party was the presence, at the invitation of the Master of Campion Hall and by the kindness of the Rector of Heythrop, of all those members of the Hall now in theology at Heythrop. Many Fellows of Colleges and their wives were out

there, too, and it was noticeable that they came, not with expressions of generalized social benevolence, as to a social function, but with the sort of personal pleasure that anticipates a happy afternoon. For "I remember a house where all were good to me, God knows, deserving no such thing . . . ": Campion Hall has come to be known far and wide not only as a University Hall where you can rely on finding intelligence and culture to which the Faith has given an extra dimension, but also an affection vivified by charity. Many whose acquaintance with distinction ranges over more than one continent have confessed that its common-room is unique.

Indeed, it is not in Oxford alone that Campion Hall has gone from strength to strength—though here its development has completely fulfilled the expectations of earlier years: academically, for instance, it has contributed a very full share of University lecturing and tutoring. But on its new site and again thanks to the genius of its late Master, it has come to be a centre of Catholic intellectual life for London as well, and a spiritual rendez-vous, one might almost say, for men, Catholic and non-Catholic, from a great diversity of backgrounds and professions. July the twenty-fifth was a Thursday and not a good day for those many friends whose work keeps them engaged all week; yet of these, too, there was a large sprinkling among the guests who gathered, another fitting testimony to the work and influence of the house that has come to mean so much in their lives.

The jubilee day itself began with High Mass, sung by the Master of the Hall, Father Thomas Corbishley, with Fathers Vignaux and Leo O'Hea as deacon and subdeacon and with an altar staff and choir made up of members of the Hall who are now theologians at Heythrop. The Mass was sung in the Campion Hall chapel, and was attended by many Fathers who had come up for the occasion. The Fathers, some thirty of them, were afterwards entertained to lunch: they included the late Master, the present Very Reverend Father Pro-

vincial, and his two predecessors in the Provincialate, an old Master, Father Vignaux (Father Henry Keane was unable to be present), the Rectors of Heythrop and Beaumont, Father Martindale, the Prefect of Studies of Garnethill, several of the Heythrop professorial staff, and others. After lunch the whole group was photographed. One reluctant absence was that of the Apostolic Delegate, who at the last moment was prevented from attending. In the afternoon (mercifully it was a beautiful and sunny one) there was a large garden-party out in a garden and on a lawn stirred to new life by the enthusiastic energy of Father Walker. In spite of the day of the week and of the date, well out of term, not many short of two hundred were able to come; and their composition, as has earlier been said, bore silent but eloquent witness to a great work accomplished. "Wouldn't Father Clarke (the Foundation Master of Campion Hall) have been happy could he have been present," was the comment of Father Vignaux, "though I'll bet even he never dared to have such high hopes."

The celebrations closed with Solemn Benediction at 6 p.m., given by Very Reverend Father Provincial.

It was a great day; and for the thoroughness of all the preparations and the smoothness of its running and the elegance and finish of it the debt is owing to the devotion of the Master and of Father James Cammack, the Bursar.

There was another and complementary day of celebrations within the Michaelmas term, on the 29th and 30th of October last year. This was not quite such a domestic and "family" day as that in July: the guests were the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Colleges, and friends of the Hall from London; the guest of honour was His Eminence the Cardinal. They were all entertained to an evening party and to dinner on the 29th, and there was High Mass, *coram Pontifice*, at St. Aloysius' on the following morning, at which Mgr. Ronald Knox preached a delightful panegyric.

It was the late Father Provincial who said that in

the Province history of the last fifty years the foundation and growth of Campion Hall was the item that took first place in importance, and this if only for the education and training given there to our own scholastics. We can only pray that sober learning and sound culture may be there blessed by God and spread abroad as they have hitherto been, and look forward to an even more resplendent next anniversary.

Meanwhile, it is hoped that sooner or later a golden-jubilee book will be published, essays by various hands, Jesuit and non-Jesuit, that will delineate or give impressions of Campion Hall under its many aspects and trace its further history since 1921. It can be relied on to make good reading.

CHRONICLE OF THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCY FOR 1946

(*Concluded*)

As was said in the *Chronicle* of the Assistancy, which appeared in our preceding issue (March, 1947), several tables of statistics which would seem essential to the record were not yet available. They have since been received and are as follows.

Novices.—At the beginning of 1947, there were 262 Scholastic Novices and 36 Novice Brothers who had entered the novitiates of the American Assistancy during the year 1946. By Provinces, their numbers were as follows:

Provinces	*Scholastic Novices*	*Novice Brothers*
California	32	7
Chicago	36	4
Maryland	43	2
Missouri	32	4
New England	40	3
New Orleans	22	9
New York	33	6
Oregon	25	1
Totals	263	36

FRUCTUS MINISTERII OF THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCY

	Missions	Tridua Novenas	Retreats of 1 or 2 days	Sermons, etc.
Calif.	20	120	——	8,243
Chicago	124	94	153	12,311
Maryland	49	148	72	8,653
Missouri	125	359	173	12,659
New Engl.	151	358	181	10,064
New Orl.	50	149	56	9,903
New York	128	232	255	15,151
Oregon				
Totals	647	1,460	890	76,984

	Cat. Expl.	Confessions	Communions
Calif.	6,074	550,395	588,183
Chicago	10,207	750,826	1,038,225
Maryland	8,653	604,630	515,807
Missouri	17,648	903,486	1,575,355
New Engl.	4,548	614,685	300,716
New Orl.	7,965	633,870	981,754
New York	6,274	941,687	11,222,198
Oregon			
Totals	61,369	4,999,579	6,222,238

	Visits to sick and in prison	Adult Converts	Number of Congregations	Number of Members
Calif.	9,537	451	——	——
Chicago	33,619	396	121	19,313
Maryland	12,142	341	98	14,117
Missouri	56,291	824	401	69,700
New Engl.	35,978	231	56	9,798
New Orl.	9,514	521	163	15,839
New York	34,202	511	202	29,381
Oregon				
Totals	191,283	3,275	1,041	158,148

	Prepared for 1st Commun.	Baptisms	Mariages	Parish School Pupils
Calif.	1,262	2,541	1,262	2,792
Chicago	931	2,135	645	4,415
Maryland	829	1,408	471	3,412
Missouri	1,984	3,037	947	6,441
New Engl.	1,129	1,039	248	760
New Orl.	2,889	3,795	1,195	6,817
New York	5,344	9,252	1,816	6,025
Oregon				
Totals	14,360	23,207	6,584	30,662

OBITUARY

FATHER JOHN J. BROWN

1867-1947

The death of Father John Joseph Brown at St. Mary's, Kansas, February 21, 1947, terminated the mortal phase of a life-time of eighty years, a Jesuit career of sixty-six years, that at one time or another entailed living in what we now call the California, the Maryland and the New Orleans Provinces, besides that of Missouri; that included exercising rector's powers for twenty-nine years, those of a Superior of a Mission for seven years—and even being a bishop-elect for five months. The outline of his life-story reminds us that Jesuits of his generation had a much better chance to realize the 'one world' philosophy (or, at least, geography) than the subsequent multiplication of scholasticates now permits.

He was born in Eagle Harbor, Michigan, and lived there long enough to become quite fond of it. In his ninth year the family moved to Colorado, then just admitted to statehood, the Browns settling in Cripple Creek, where mining was the universal center of interest. However exciting at times, a raw mining-camp afforded scant educational opportunities, and it wasn't easy to come by schooling under Catholic auspices. This led to John's being sent to the Italian Jesuits at Las Vegas, New Mexico. At the age of fourteen and a half he applied for entrance into the Order, and on November 13, 1881, he began his 'novitiate' right there in Las Vegas.

The frontier conditions then existing "at the end of the Santa Fe Trail", seem incredible to us now. It was the era of Billy the Kid, whose celebrated 'shooting finger' was cut off and put on display (for fifty cents admission), when Bill had come to the end of his days. One morning our Jesuit novice, the first to

arrive at first visit, began his customary task of throwing open the heavy shutters. Right outside one window he found three corpses dangling by their necks, as the house next door was used as a jail, and three had been given 'rope justice' while the Jesuit novice slept so near and so unsuspecting. He told how, on that occasion, he slammed the shutter again, and ran back up to bed, and (we presume) pulled the covers up over his head!

But his general steadiness had so impressed the Jesuits that he was transferred, at the end of the year, to the more stereotyped noviceship at Florissant, where he finished his probation with no more lynchings, and spent the years, 1883-85, as a junior.

At the conclusion of his juniorate Mr. Brown journeyed back to Las Vegas for regency, but found that the "college" itself was thinking of packing up to seek its fortunes closed to the fabulous metal deposits of Colorado. This 'move,' so to say, was made in two stages, from Las Vegas to Morrison, near Denver, and then into Denver itself, where in 1887 Father Dominic Pantanella of the original Woodstock faculty inagurated what was long known as Sacred Heart College. But that same fall Mr. Brown was sent to San Francisco for philosophy, to the famous St. Ignatius in downtown San Francisco, where the Turin Jesuits had built up one of America's foremost Jesuit schools.

Father Brown enjoyed his three years in San Francisco, even if the scholastics had to wear silk hats! The many close ties made during philosophy were a joy to him to the end of his life, when he was the sole survivor of his group. The customary three more years of regency, at Sacred Heart in Denver, seasoned him for theology, which he began at Woodstock in 1893. Bonds between Denver and Woodstock were many and enduring, and Father Brown had tales to tell of happy years spent there. Cardinal Gibbons ordained him, June 28, 1896, the half-century anni-

versary of which he observed quietly his last June on earth.

The year following theology was spent in administrative positions at the Denver college, and then Father Brown saw himself named Acting Rector there in the Summer of 1898. Therewith began his famous superior's career of *worrying*, his chief 'hobby' he once called it. For he dwelt in a world of multiple forebodings, of fires, tornadoes, epidemics, disasters of all sorts, and bad as reality might prove to be, it was so much better than Fr. Brown had forecast, that it must have seemed anticlimactic. After five years of active worrying in the position Fr. Brown dropped the office (if not the occupation), and returned to Florissant for tertianship, 1903-04.

The tertianship connection is perhaps the best place to remark on his outstanding devotion to prayer, and his uncomprising practice of poverty. None could know him in more than casual fashion without seeing the prayerfulness of his life; and even the most passing association with him was sufficient to portray his stark poverty.

Tertianship had its normal complement, when he pronounced his final vows, February 2, 1904. That year and the next he was engaged in what he found a pleasant task, parish ministry, at St. Patrick's, Pueblo. But Sacred Heart College again summoned him. He was Prefect of Discipline (Vice-President) for a year, minister for one year, and then the official worrying resumed once more when he was appointed Rector in 1906, an office which he held this time, until 1920.

It was a difficult period of transition. The Mission's small boarding school at the northern extremity of Denver's city limits had had two very different types of students, but by 1906 both sources were running dry. The first was Mexico, many of whose wealthy families had sent their sons to Las Vegas, and later, to Denver, to get Jesuit training. The second abundant source had been the sons of people who "struck

it rich" in the mining towns, or at least were well enough off to pay the slender tuition asked in those days. The curriculum, of course, was the traditional *ratio studiorum* preparation for the Bachelor of Arts degree, with an occasional Bachelor of Sciences. The city of Denver was showing itself unenthusiastic, to say the least, over the cultural values of collegiate training. The school needed approximately two hundred boarders to make ends meet, but, of two hundred boys, what we now term the high school would claim roughly three-fourths, leaving a very microscopic college at the top. "We do our best work as a small school," was a slogan often repeated in those years.

Besides the normal run of worries, Father Brown's long rectorship had a few of the super-calibre, as when a scarlet-fever epidemic exacted lives of both faculty and students, or, when Father Pantanella, over eighty, was dragged to court in a trial lasting for days, charged with alienating a wife's affections.

In one way, at least, Sacred Heart was eminently successful in fostering Jesuit vocations. The Mission personnel, in consequence, grew larger year by year. In 1912, while retaining his post as 'irremoveable rector,' Father Brown was designated *Superior Missionis*. This entailed, of course, a hundred fresh sources of worry, and the necessity of visiting the parishes and widely-scattered mission stations through Colorado, New Mexico, and the El Paso district of Texas. In this latter district all the ministry was then in Jesuit hands, and so, when the area was organized into a diocese in 1915, it was natural that Father Brown was preconized as Bishop. But the many reasons he alleged against accepting consecration were accepted by the Holy See and he was allowed to resign. His 'bishopric' lasted from January 22 to June 16, 1915.

Because Sacred Heart College, by reason of its small numbers, was not certified for ROTC training in World War I, the college department was almost wiped out in the war years. It was just then that

Father Brown once took a stand that made headlines across the nation. In the late Spring of 1919, just a matter of days before commencement, practically the entire Senior Division of boarders, having been refused a town-permission, marched off to town. They were expelled next day, and none was ever taken back—but the enrollment in the fall leaped to an undreamed of high point.

Shortly after this 'great expulsion' came an even greater crisis for Father Brown and his Jesuit subjects, the division of the New Mexico and Colorado Mission between the New Orleans and Missouri Provinces, and the alloting of the men to the new jurisdictions. There were half a hundred Jesuits at various stages of formation, besides those 'in the field.' The arrangement for the division (worked out in strictest secrecy, of course) was that those of foreign birth were to have the option of returning to their home Province; others in the scholasticates were to be assigned to the new provinces, two to Missouri for one to New Orleans; and all those 'in the field' were to stay on that side of the dividing line where the decree found them on August 15, 1919. It was a plan which assumed that everyone had acquired the indifference so often meditated in the Foundation. The Feast of the Assumption that year was a fateful day in the lives of those who had been Father Brown's subjects. His rectorship in Denver lasted another year.

One might have thought that Father Brown's long associations with the college in Denver, the name of which was changed to Regis in 1922, would prove too strong for ready severance. But what he was later to regard as 'his golden era' was still in the future, his nine-year rectorship of St. Stanislaus tertianship in Cleveland, 1922-31. To be sure there was the excitement of the big fire, in the late Spring of 1926, and then the 'exile tertianship' at Hot Springs, North Carolina, 1926-27, and the task of supervising the Cleveland reconstruction. But this post afforded a relative freedom from his life-long worry, inasmuch

as the Instructor had the responsibility for the spiritual things, and the Province, that for the temporal ones. One source of abiding statisfaction was the growth at Cleveland of the Lay Retreat League and the manifold associations it provided with an elite among the laity. To his death Father Brown took the liveliest interest in Cleveland and all its ecclesiastical interests.

The *senex bene meritus de Societate* was back at Florissant for the year 1931-32, and it was there he had his golden jubilee. He was tubercular, thin, white- haired, and was beginning to walk with a stoop. Naturally there were countless references (out of earshot) to his celebrated Civil War predecessor of the same name. But his soul—and body, too—had a long road to march before the end was reached.

The theologate was removed from St. Louis to St. Mary's, Kansas, superseding "Tom Playfair's School" in the Fall of 1931. This adjustment was not too easily made, and the going was a bit grim at times. Father Brown was sent to St. Mary's for his last assignment, Spiritual Father to the theologians. Despite great personal kindness, he held high the austere ideals before the Scholastics, who affectionately termed him "Uphill Brown."

He was beginning, too, to pay the penalties of outliving his associates. Thus, *The Denver Register* once referred to him, in a boldfaced front-page editorial, as "the late Father Brown." A few years ago it seemed that he was rapidly approaching his last hour, and he was sent to a sanitorium in Colorado Springs. But he rallied, and soon showed up at Regis in Denver. One of the St. Mary's theologians was there, and offered to show him around a little, asking blandly: "Were you ever at Regis before?" Father Brown smiled, as he reflected that he was rector there when this Jesuit's father was a student.

Considering his age and frail health, his declining years were blessed with much that others have to surrender. Weakness brought him to bed four or five

weeks before the end, and he received the Last Sacraments at that time. An inability to take food saw a rapid sapping of his strength. But, at that, when a fellow-Jesuit wished to say the Recommndation of a Departing Soul, he was asked to leave off, as having too much good will! A final rally enabled him to talk (with difficulty) the day before he died. Death came early in the morning of February 21st, a fellow-jubilarian in the Infirmary rising to give him the Last Absolution.

Besides two nieces from Denver, his funeral at St. Mary's attracted several Sisters of Charity of Leavenworth, a final eloquent testimonial to his singular loyalty to his friends. May he rest in peace.

VARIA

THE AMERICAN ASSISTANCY

MARYLAND PROVINCE

Georgetown.—The third and fourth floors of Mulledy Building, the faculty residence, were damaged by a three-alarm fire on February 27. The blaze apparently started under the roof above the fourth-floor rooms and smouldered for two hours before it was discovered. An explosion a few minutes later destroyed part of the roof, but none of Ours was injured. Much of the damage to the building was caused by the water used to check the flames. At present only the first floor of Mulledy is in use. The members of the community have moved to other parts of the Campus, most of them now residing in O'Gara Hall.

Baltimore.—September 1, 1945, marked the inauguration of Nocturnal Adoration at St. Ignatius' Church, Baltimore. In response to Our Lady of Fatima's pleas for prayer and penance, groups of men keep vigil before the Most Blessed Sacrament exposed in successive Holy Hours from ten in the evening on the First Saturday of every month until six on the following Sunday morning.

As a further development of this exclusively men's organization, which now numbers 225, the Reparation Society of the Immaculate Heart of Mary was formed in May of the following year (1946) to include women and children as well. Since last May, exposition on the First Saturday begins at one in the afternoon at St. Ignatius and continues with bands of adorers keeping public hourly watches until ten at night, when the Nocturnal Adoration Society begins its adoration. This Reparation Society of the Immaculate Heart is rapidly spreading to national proportions and has already received international notice in the Catholic press. Besides the First Saturday Holy Hours, the

Reparation Society asks of its members the daily recitation of the Rosary and a daily sacrifice, hidden if possible and in keeping with one's duty, for the conversion of sinners and of Russia in particular. Sister Lucia and the Bishop of Leiria (Fatima) both examined the first draft of the new Society's constitution and judged it to possess the true spirit of Fatima. Associate membership in the Reparation Society is accorded to those who fulfill the First Saturday practices asked by Our Lady (Confession, Holy Communion in reparation to the Immaculate Heart, the Rosary and fifteen minutes of meditation upon one or several of its mysteries) and who likewise say the Rosary daily and make the daily act of self-denial. Those who, while doing this, make the Society's formal Holy Hour on the First Saturday, are given full membership.

Six parishes in and about Baltimore, two parishes in Washington and several schools in various parts of the country have established branches of the Reparation Society. Requests for the Manual are coming in daily from many sections of the U. S. The Society publishes a bulletin for its members, *Fatima Findings*, which is being very well received. Prayer and penance in honor of the Immaculate Heart of Mary for the salvation of the world is the keynote of the organization. It is one positive answer to Communism.

NEW ORLEANS PROVINCE

Ordinations.—Wishing to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the Province as the New Orleans Mission, and at the same time to give more members of the Province an opportunity to see the ordination of the largest group of *ordinandi* in its history, Father Provincial asked of Reverend Father General permission that the ordinations be held this year in New Orleans. This permission was granted, and so twenty members of the New Orleans Province will be ordained in the Holy Name of Jesus Church,

New Orleans, on June 16, 17 and 18. Most Rev. Joseph F. Rummel, Archbishop of New Orleans, will confer the Orders.

Sacrilegious Attack.—As Father James W. Courtney was distributing Holy Communion at the High Mass in the Immaculate Conception Church, New Orleans, on Sunday, April 20, a man, later identified as an ex-Marine, jumped over the altar rail and attacked him with an open pocket-knife. Some of the Sacred Hosts were scattered on the sanctuary floor. During the attack, Father Courtney protected the ciborium as long as he could and was still clinging to it as he fell. He made no effort to protect himself.

After he had inflicted several serious wounds, the attacker was overpowered by those who came to Father's defense. Upon examination at police headquarters, he refused to give any information about himself, but admitted that he did not know Father Courtney.

When the priest had been taken to the hospital and the church cleared of people, it was closed and the Blessed Sacrament removed. The last Mass was cancelled. Archbishop Rummel visited it that afternoon and directed that the church be blessed on Monday morning and that a triduum of reparation be held.

NEW ENGLAND PROVINCE

Boston College.—On February 3, the new Boston College School of Nursing opened with its initial class of 34 full-time students and 3 part-time students, all graduate nurses. The five-year course for high school graduates, which combines a collegiate academic program with the basic professional course, will open in September.

Fairfield.—It has been announced that Fairfield College will open with a Freshman class in September of this year. Even before the day appointed for registration written applications were being received. Meanwhile the Bellarmine Building Fund Campaign is under way.

FROM OTHER COUNTRIES

Missions.—The Roman magazine, *Nuntii de Missionibus,* in its first post-war issue, tells us that, at the beginning of this year, there were altogether 4,109 Jesuits working on or belonging to our Missions. This total includes 2,616 priests, of whom 449 are natives of the Missions; 829 scholastics, of whom the larger part, 624, are natives; and 664 Brothers of whom 275 are natives. In addition, in these Missions there are 799 other priests, of whom 636 are natives.

France—Father Peter Descoqs, whose name has for years been a household word far beyond his own province, died at Mongré on November 8, 1946, aged sixty-nine. Those who knew him will remember him as an incredibly hard worker, physically and mentally, in the pursuit of truth in philosophy, a simple and loveable character, and an edifying religious. As a philosopher he was more occupied in commenting on contemporary thought than on quiet, independent system-building, and perhaps for this reason he had not a very large following in France. Yet his work possessed unity, and above all conviction. He had a passion for books, and did a magnificent work for the library till recently housed in Jersey, stocking it with every aspect of philosophical thought.

As a man, next to his enormous energy and fighting zeal for truth, and his high standard of religious observance, people noticed in him a matter-of-factness and absence of anything that could be called mysticism. He was teaching up to a week before his death, still working on the last part of his *Théodicée.* (From *Letters and Notices.*)

Lyons Province.—In addition to its mission work in the Vice-Province of the Near East, the Province has undertaken a new mission in French Equatorial Africa, to be known as the Tchad Mission, from Lake Tchad, a prominent geographical feature of the area. Ecclesiastically, it is the Prefecture Apostolic of Fort Lamy, erected by the Holy See on January 9, 1947. Father

Edward Margot, former Rector of Holy Family College, Cairo, is the Superior of the Mission which numbers three priests besides himself. A Brother is soon to join them.

Further mission work in the Mediterranean is indicated by the transfer of the Greek Mission from the Province of Sicily to that of Lyons. Father Camillus Ancey, of the Lyons Province, has been Superior of the Mission for some time.

Austrian Province.—By a decree of the Holy See, the Prefecture Apostolic of Kinghsien in China, the mission field of the Austrian Jesuits, has been raised to the stature of a diocese. Father Leopold Brellinger, of the Austrian Province, Superior of the Mission, has been appointed first Bishop of the new See. He was a consecrated on April 20 in Peiping Cathedral by Cardinal Tien.

Belgium.—During five long years not a single Jesuit was able to leave Belgium for any of the four Missions entrusted to the two Belgian Provinces, two in the Belgian Congo and two in India. On May 18, 1945, the first group was able to sail. This was, we note, less than two weeks after V-E Day. Since then, and up to the end of 1946, 105 Jesuits have gone to Kisanto, Kwongo, Ranchi and Calcutta Missions—70 from Northern Belgium and 35 from Southern Belgium.

India.—A member of the Ranchi Mission tells this story, in *Our Field,* of how he met the problem of how to prevent hunting by his Christians during Holy Week.

"During Holy Week, we had a special kind of Retreats. At the Ranchi Missionary meeting, November 1944, an answer was asked to the following: 'In Jashpur and perhaps elsewhere, Catholics have taken to the habit of hunting on Maundy Thursday and Good Friday. The practice seems to be opposed to the spirit of the Church. What remedy can be suggested?' No suitable remedy was suggested. It was taken for granted that this was the old custom of *Phagun* hunt-

ing, merely for pleasure. This is not quite correct. Here in Jashpur, where cattle-killing is punishable by law, it is difficult, chiefly for poor people, to procure meat. For Easter all like to have a good dinner, and to get some meat they resort to hunting during Holy Week.

"To counteract the abuses, Father Dwelshauwers had found the remedy in Tongo district, as much as twenty-five years ago. It consists in having a little Retreat in every village, during Holy Week. What has proved so salutary there ever since, I was determined to try here. The Catechists were all told to hold such little Retreats, on the afternoon of Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of Holy Week. The Program would consist of prayer, such as the Rosary, Stations of the Cross in the manner of a procession, singing, etc. In between there had to be instructions or reading, according to the plan I gave them. For their inspiration, they had to consult the *Dharmopadesh*, edited by H. E. the Bishop.

"At Gholeng, I conducted the Little Retreat myself for the neighbouring villages. The attendance was 199, then 271, and finally 467 on the succeeding afternoons. The last number was much swollen by people who had come for the Good Friday Stations of the Cross. The result was certainly gratifying, the more so that contrary to custom the men were in the majority by far.

"I was naturally curious to know how the experiment had succeeded in the district, and I questioned every Catechist at the next monthly meeting. I was delighted to hear that nowhere had it proved a failure. In villages where they all live in proximity to the chapel, some Catechists had modified the time-table and gathered the people three times in the day: morning, noon and evening. In some places they had added a fourth day, Holy Saturday morning. As regards the daily attendance, it was less good on Wednesday, in some places, as could be expected. Several Catechists said the attendance was good from beginning till

end. Some: 'Chapel completely full'; one who has a very large chapel: 'All could not enter on Good Friday.'

"This is an experiment worth recommending. Apart from counteracting objectionable hunting, it is the best means to make our people spend Holy Week in the true spirit of the Church."

Spain.—4,500 workingmen made closed retreats conducted at Madrid during the period 1941-1946 by *Fomento Social,* the organ for the social apostolate of the Toledo Province. These retreats were made possible through the cooperation of employers. *Siembra,* the magazine for workingmen published by the same organization, has a total of 6,000 subscriptions. More than 150,000 copies of pamphlets on social topics were distributed during 1946.

In addition to their other work, Fathers Azpiazu and Brugarola of *Fomento* teach courses in Economic Ethics in the Central University of Madrid and the University of Deusto.

A Note on February Final Vows

For years we had wondered why final vows in the Society that were taken in 1902 came on February 3 instead of on February 2, as one might expect. Not so long ago, we asked one of the Fathers who made his profession that year the reason for the shift. "Why, I can't imagine what happened," he said, "I always thought it was February 2!"

This little mystery was cleared up this year when the same transfer occurred. The Feast of the Purification of Our Lady, and hence final vows, is postponed from Febrary 2 to February 3 whenever Septuagesima or Sexagesima Sunday falls on February 2. Within the memory of living men, this has happened only three times—in 1890, 1896 and 1902.

In the future this will occur more frequently. Just to limit our horizon to the 20th century, we will see the transfer of the Feast of the Purification and final vows in the Society from February 2 to February 3 again in 1958, 1964, 1969, 1975, 1986 and 1997.

American Jesuit Books

When the Wind Blows. *By Thomas Butler Feeney, S.J.* (New England Province). Dodd, Mead and Company, 1947.

At last admirers of Father Thomas Butler Feeney have a collection of his verse, examples of which they have enjoyed piecemeal over a period of several years. His title is aptly chosen. It is not difficult to see his creative talent streaming on like the wind, stirring to indelible view the face of a leaf or flower, flaming the blue fire of stars, piercing the essential yet poignantly beautiful loneliness of life that most of us feel at some time or other, and in general, happily capturing what might best be called the Roman Catholic commonplace—New England variety. In this he is as artless yet as artful as the wind that sweeps down our streets—and in a way that only a Catholic can fully understand. In this respect he reminds one of his brother, Father Leonard. Visits to the amusement park, "the primary grade coquette," getting prizes for knowing your catechism, the halloween prank, the litany of the Sacred Heart, the earnest, yet bashful love of Catholic youth, "the glint of iris evening on a tiny harbor town"—all fit into a significant unity of the Catholic commonplace.

Belonging on every Jesuit's legenda are: "All Saints Eve"; "The Berry Pickers"; "Katy's Litany"; "The Sad and Secret Sound"; "Sing No More of Love"—which catches the enigma yet central fact of a life for "God the Weaver, God the Wool and God the Weave";—"Song Wit Woids," which none of us has forgotten since it first appeared ten years ago in *America;* "The Maiden," an epitome of the lyrical Mariology which is hinted on every page; and "We Are The American Soldiers." This last piece might well have been the title poem, were not the bookmart averse by now to the very mention of war poetry. Passages in it contain some of the best poetry in the book, especially the commentary of the hero dead on Heaven and its Queen. It gives the only true attitude a Catholic can have toward the war and its dead, embodying a patriotism motivated by the commonplace, yet not the awful commonplace with which the propagandists glutted us: that we were fighting for the soda fountain down the street or the garage next door! It shows up again in their description of Heaven. In fact this poem is Father Feeney at his best, unlocking the beautiful Catholic commonplace, where sinner and mystic alike find God.

J. D. Boyd, S.J.

After Black Coffee. *By Robert I. Gannon, S.J.* (New York Province). Declan X. McMullen Company, 1946.

This book is a collection of selected after-dinner speeches of Fordham's President. As an assortment it is bound to be diversified and it is. The diversity here however is more the diversity of occasion than it is a diversity of theme. As the occasion varies, the mood varies, but the result is not potpourri. The stability comes from the recurrent double theme expressed in the introduction: "the dignity of man as a spiritual being and the importance of tradition in maintaining, or better, in regaining our way of life." Which double theme is basically one. It admirably fits a man who is both priest and educator, who is not one before the other but is both together.

In a book of speeches there is always the question as to how much of the original merit has survived the removal of the human voice. If you think speeches fare ill when printed, do not sell this book short on that account. You can feel the catch in your throat still, you can hear the quiet in the original banquet hall as he touches on chords that are deep in everyone. Father Gannon has long been recognized as the master of the appropriate. These speeches bear further witness to that reputation.

The twenty-one speeches are a twenty-one gun salute applauding man, his dignity and integrity, his present and particularly his past, with a hat tipped occasionally in the direction of Fordham and in the direction of Irishmen in general. Withal it is difficult to give the sum impression of such a book. Somehow it leaves you warm the way wine leaves you warm. You do not exactly stand up and cheer, not because you do not want to, but only because one doesn't cheer at a printed page. The book is delightful from end to end, and though it is not a fat volume, it should not be read at one sitting. It is too rich for that. It should cover at least as many nights as there were dinners graced by its speeches.

J. V. Watson, S.J.

The Darkness is Passed. *By Thomas H. Moore, S.J.* (New York Province). Declan X. McMullen Company, 1946.

The simplicity of this slim volume's format indicates the depth and power of the simplicity to be found in each of the twenty-seven meditations on the Christ-life which belongs to the spiritual supermen of the world, the adopted sons of God.

The introductory meditation strives for a spirit of prayerfulness with which to approach those that follow. The titles, even, of the meditations are such as to arouse interest. "Out of Our Own Homes," "Over the Counter," "Salt of the Earth,"

"In the Streets," "Battle Flags," "Here Endeth the Cross" are a few of them. Nor do they present a false hope. In the pages devoted to each of these subjects there is an appeal which is general and yet pointed enough to reach each one. We find ourselves at Bethlehem, in the home at Nazareth watching the growing Boy, His Mother, and Joseph the Workman, who counterparts may be found today traveling the "El." A striking picture of the Two Standards flashes through the text. And the meditation on the resurrection centers upon the meeting of Mother and Son.

There is a wealth of illustration, practical and pertinent for the present-day seeker after Christ. The colloquies scattered throughout have a flavor of the *Imitation.* It is not difficult to understand why this book was a choice of the Spiritual Book Associates.

G. G. BUTLER, S.J.

The Illustrated Catechism. *By Aloysius J. Heeg, S.J.* (Missouri Province). Catholic Mfg. Co., 1946.

This is another of Father Heeg's noteworthy contributions to the science of getting inside the youngster's mind. Built around the text of the official revised edition of the Baltimore Catechism, it is a combination of colored illustration and simple, ingenious formulae for understanding the text for which Father Heeg is famous.

The illustrations beginning with the very cover of the Catechism are in bright color representing Our Lord, the Mass, priests administering the sacraments and many other subjects that are so well impressed upon a child's mind by a mere picture.

The short graphic explanations of each question will also make the teaching of catechism much easier and enjoyable. Ours who have anything to do at all with the religious instruction of grade school children should look into the possibilities of this new and different catechism.

B. F. K., S.J.

Eskimo Parish. *By Paul O'Connor,* S.J. (Oregon Province). The Bruce Publishing Company, 1947.

From the little-known regions of icy Alaska, comes a heart-warming account of missionary activity in what Pius XI once described as the most difficult mission in the Church. Father O'Connor's simple yet vivid style takes us right into the midst of his round of spiritual ministrations, which in the course of the past fifteen years, have led him into almost every town and village north of the Arctic Circle. Sometimes by plane or

boat, more often by dog-sled, he leads us into the humble huts of the Eskimos, visiting the sick, instructing, baptizing, marrying.

Here is one mission where even the advances of modern civilization often avail little against the primeval forces of nature. Blizzards, freezes and sudden thaws all call not merely for courage, but for physical strength and endurance as well. Here, too, the Sisters perform their task of instructing the young and caring for the orphans, far removed indeed from the eyes of a curious world. In not a few instances, it is the herculean labors of a patient lay-brother which keep a mission parish functioning year after year.

Through Father O'Connor's story, we learn with pride that the perennial spirit of the true Catholic Missionary of every age and clime is burning brightly amid the snows and barren tundra of Alaska. In Father O'Connor and his brethren, we discover the surest sign of its presence,—namely a complete dedication to the spiritual welfare of their people, for which they find no sacrifice too great. It is a tale which will inspire all of our Catholic people with a deeper love and appreciation of the needs of the missions.

S. R. WILEY, S.J.

The Progress of the Jesuits (1556-1579). *By James Brodrick, S.J.* (English Province). Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1946.

In 1577 Father Simon Rodriguez completed a little record of early Jesuit experiences which he called *Commentarium de origine et progressu Societatis Jesu.* With the present book Father Brodrick has completed a two-volume account of the same origin and progress of the Jesuits. No books on Jesuit history have ever been more cordially acclaimed or more avidly read. This second volume takes the history of the Society down to 1579. Nowhere does Father Brodrick explain why he has chosen this year. It is true that he calls it an "annus mirabilis" of Jesuit history (p. 303) but he makes out no convincing case for the claim. Why did he not choose 1580, the year of the death of Father Everard Mercurian whose successor was elected early in 1581? Is he reserving the years 1579-81 to set the stage for the entry of the great Aquaviva? Or is this to be his last volume on the history of the Society? One sincerely hopes that other volumes will be forthcoming and remembering that Campion and Persons were to come to England in 1580, one wonders if the third volume will not be a beginning of "The Jesuits in England." Certainly such a work is badly needed and the Irishman Father Brodrick might, perhaps,

be able to write it with more detachment than an Englishman could achieve.

The Progress of the Jesuits is a worthy counterpart of *The Origin of the Jesuits*. The sketch of St. Peter Canisius is probably the best of that great and amiable Dutchman in any language. Lainez and Nadal, trusted collaborators of St. Ignatius and mighty men in the history of the Jesuits after the death of the founder, have also been resurrected. Apparently Father Brodrick does not know of the golden pages which one of the Fathers Rector of St. Alphonsus Rodriguez devoted to the lay-brother saint. Otherwise we might have been blessed with a fine page on him. Father Brodrick's book has special value in that it gives by way of anecdote and character-sketch a good cross-section of Jesuit work in the years when the Society was growing to full stature in the Church.

E. A. Ryan, S.J.

A History of Philosophy. Volume I: Greece and Rome. *By Frederick Copleston, S.J.* (English Province). The Newman Bookshop, 1946.

This first volume of a new history of philosophy by the author of previous monographs on Nietzsche and Schopenhauer will be welcomed by professors of the history of philosophy in our philosophates who have long complained that no suitable textbook has been written on that subject by a Jesuit. The works of Gény and Klimke are much too synoptic and schematic and that of the latter is also lacking in proportion with, for instance, only fourteen of some eight hundred pages devoted to Plato and Aristole. Besides, both are written in a formidable Latin hardly calculated to awaken and sustain interest in a subject which of its very nature cannot be treated in the same abstract way as formal philosophy. The detailed but incomplete *Philosophie Moderne* of Sortais and the *Précis d'Histoire de la Philosophie Moderne* of Maréchal are, as their titles suggest, too restricted in scope, while the first four volumes of the latter's celebrated *Le Point du départ de la Métaphysique* are developed only in terms of the noëtic problem.

Fr. Copleston teaches the history of philosophy at Heythrop and, since his book apparently embraces his course in the history of ancient philosophy, it is peculiarly appropriate as a manual for our houses of study. Though primarily intended for an undergraduate course, it is comprehensive and scholarly enough to furnish a general background for the student who wishes to do more extensive study in the subject. It will serve as an excellent introduction to the vast store of erudition with which every Jesuit student of philosophy should have some familiarity and will prove stimulating enough to arouse enthusiasm among

some of its readers to do further research in the scholarly fashion of its author. It is to be hoped that his other projected volumes on medieval and modern philosophy will not be too long in forthcoming.

Fr. Copleston has admirably succeeded in avoiding two of the defects often met with in textbooks of the history of philosophy. On the one hand, he has not succumbed to the temptation of the historian who is also a philosopher to portray the philosophy of the past with that conciseness of analysis and over-simplification of doctrine which are aimed at illustrating the evolutionary character of previous systems but which often rob them of their unique originality. The author realizes that all the great philosophers of history were highly complex individuals and that the meaning of their philosophy can be fully grasped only when studied in the light of their peculiar temperament and antecedents, their particular interests and intentions, and as the outcome of their moral, social and religious environment and of other factors, many of them not strictly philosophical in character but profoundly affecting their philosophical outlook. On the other hand, he has shunned an opposite extreme, that form of historicism which is so solicitous about detail in an effort at completeness that no proper selection is made of a philosopher's significant ideas. We are all familiar with the type of historian who indulges a predilection for a minute itemization of every utterance and event in a philosopher's life at the expense of a systematic presentation of his salient thought. Fr. Copleston's detailed treatment of the various philosophers is subordinated throughout to his principal aim of presenting an integrated view of their distinctive contribution to the perennial philosophy and of indicating the filiations between the different schools and the chief lines of development of ancient thought as a whole.

The American edition of the present work is electroplated from the English edition which forms the ninth volume of the Bellarmine Series. For a more detailed appreciation of the book confer my article in the June issue of *Thought* and that of Father J. Courtney Murray in the Nov.-Dec. issue of *The Month.*

J. I. CONWAY, S.J.

The Quest of Ben Hered. *By Carlos Maria de Heredia, S.J.* (Mexican Province). Bruce Publishing Company, 1947.

The present work is not easy to categorize. It is not a novel, though its material is presented fictionally as the jottings of a journalist; nor is it strictly an apologetic work, despite the evident apologetic trend throughout the book. The very fact that the reader is unable to type the book makes the book difficult reading. The author presents one Ben Hered (a play on

Heredia?), a Spanish Jew, as returning to the land of his fathers at the beginning of the ministry of John the Baptist; the purpose of the return is to become acquainted with the religious background of his people, and to become a participant in the expected redemption of Israel. This leaves the way open for Ben Hered to become inquisitive about religious trends, and also to move freely from place to place. In the course of the hero's travels through the land, the story that is familiar to us from the Gospels comes out in little vignettes which are at times cleverly contrived, but at other times too artificial for conviction.

The author has packed the book with a wealth of information which is not always accurate (as when the Gazophylacium is equated with an almsbox, or the Sea of Tiberias described as 7½ miles long and 5½ wide, etc.), but the reader who does not read too much at a given time will find the information on the whole quite entertaining and instructive. Had the author avoided the anachronism of quoting from the New Testament which at the moment was not in existence, and had rather given such quotations in a more conversational way, a much smoother narrative would have resulted. Reading the book in its present form, the reader is uncomfortably conscious of stiffness and unnaturalness in some of the characters portrayed. In general, the filling-out of character traits among the Apostles is skillfully done, though not all will agree with the pictures of Peter or of Magdalen as they take form. As imaginative material to aid in meditation, the book will have perhaps its best effect and fruitfulness, for the author has certainly added flesh and blood to many of the skeletal descriptions to be found in the Gospel by imaginative but very plausible backgrounds given to various characters. As the author intimates, the work ends abruptly, short of the Passion, and is but the first issue of Ben Hered's diary. Possibly Father de Heredia's original work in Spanish carries the whole story of the Public Life, and we may hope to see a treatment of the Passion similar to that of the early public life of Christ.

F. X. Peirce, S.J

Treading the Winepress. *By William Stephenson*, S.J. (Irish Province). The Newman Bookshop, 1946.

There are no doubt many who are still in search of "a good point book." At least, for Lenten meditations and for periodic thoughts on the Passion the year around the search may well end here.

Father Stephenson's book is not overladen with merely personal reflections and yet it is by no means jejune. He follows a simple pattern introduced by suggested readings from Scripture

and a summary of the history of events. This is supplied with copious citations of the prophetic Old Testament, the theological amplifications of St. Paul, and poetry and unction from the Liturgy. The reflections which are added are heavy with meaning, in many cases merely the expanding of the points marked out for consideration in the *Spiritual Exercises* for the third week.

Little larger than a Daily Missal, this book can be kept handy at one's desk for points or spiritual reading and easily taken to chapel for those who meditate before the Blessed Sacrament. The wealth of material for prayer as well as the solid, substantial character of the reflections make this little volume recommendable to priests, seminarians and religious and to all others to whom a period of mental prayer is an important part of the day.

J. W. Bush, S.J.

Of Interest to Ours

Priestly Zeal For Souls. *By Rev. John J. Janssen, S.V.D.* Pustet Co., 1946.

This book of reflections for priests now translated into English has deservedly stood the test of time for over a half-century. It is something of a classic on the shelf of priestly ascetical literature. The treatment of the 13th Chapter of the 1st Corinthians, which takes up 80 of the 138 pages, is one of the finest developments of that oft-quoted passage. The zeal of the priest for the house of his own soul is recommended as the indispensable condition of his success in apostolic labors for others. Rather than spotlighting heroics the author is at pains to point out the hidden facets of holiness that are dimly resplendent in the priest's daily ministration of the sacraments and spiritual dealing with the sons of men. The best feature of the book is the frequent use of very apposite selections from Saints Augustine, Bernard, Vincent, Francis Xavier, Theresa of Avila and the Imitation. The one fault that might be found is the too great length of quotations, if indeed it can be termed a fault to cite such authors at length.

A perusal of this work, composed by the brother of the Founder of the Society of the Divine Word, will provide fruitful suggestions both for the director of priests' and seminarians' retreats as well as for the exercitant himself. The brevity of the chapters, which average four pages in length, make it quite handy for points or spiritual reading.

R. H. Springer, S.J.

OUR DEAD

SUPPLEMENT TO
LETTERS AND NOTICES

VOL. LV

IN THREE PARTS: EACH PART 12s. 6d.

Since June, 1939, more than a hundred Priests and Brothers of the English Province have died. As it was impossible during the War to continue publishing *Letters and Notices* which would normally have contained memoirs of these Fathers, obituary Notices of them have recently been written and collected into a Supplement to the present volume under the title, *Our Dead.* It will be published in the course of the year in three parts. As each part will average about 200 pages and will contain many photographic plates, the expense of production has been considerable. A number of copies are being printed to meet requests from subscribers abroad, and those who wish to be certain of receiving the Supplement should place their orders early with *The Manager,* "Letters and Notices," Manresa House, Roehampton Lane, London, S.W.15.

The volumes are not merely a collection of Notices. They are a record of the work of the English Province in the last fifty years, and include accounts, written from a personal angle, of the notable work done by Fathers of the English Province, including among others Fr. Herbert Thurston, Fr. Francis Woodlock, Fr. Cuthbert Cary-Elwes, Fr. John Driscoll, and Fr. Charles Newdigate. They chronicle the pioneering missionary work in South Africa and South America, and the launching of apostolic enterprises at home. The contributors to these volumes are writers who are best acquainted with the work of the Fathers and Brothers whose memoirs they contain. Among other contributors are Bishop Aston Chichester, Fr. James Brodrick, Fr. Francis Devas, Fr. Aubrey Gwynn, Fr. Henry Keane, and Fr. C. C. Martindale. The first volume has been published, and the other volumes will appear at intervals of about three months.